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THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN FLORIDA, 1763-1892

By Edgar Legare Pennington

I.

ON THE 10th of February, 1763, the King of Spain ceded and guaranteed in full ownership to His British Majesty "Florida, with Fort Saint Augustine and the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses in the continent of North America to the east or southeast of the Mississippi River, and, in general, everything depending on the said countries and lands."¹ On the 7th of October, the same year, the boundaries of East and West Florida were fixed by royal proclamation. East Florida was bounded by the Gulf of Mexico and the Apalachicola River; north by a line drawn from the junction of the Catahouchee (Chattahoochee) and Flint Rivers to the source of St. Mary's River, and by the course of that river to the Atlantic Ocean; and east and south by the ocean and the Gulf of Florida, "including all islands within six leagues of the seacoast." The other province, West Florida, was bounded on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, including all islands within six leagues of the coast, from the Apalachicola River to Lake Pontchartrain; westward by the said lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the Mississippi River; to the north by a line drawn due east from that part of the Mississippi River which lies in 31 degrees North Latitude to the Apalachicola (or Catahouchee) River; and eastward by the said river.² At the beginning of the British occupation, the inhabitants of the whole of Florida numbered scarcely more than seven thousand; and they were gathered principally in the towns of St. Augustine and Pensacola. They depended largely on government and

¹*British Record Office, State Papers, 108/124.*

²*Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politicks, and Literature for the Year 1763 (London, 1765), p. 209.*

military employment. With the cession, there was a general exodus of Spanish-speaking people; this was replaced in time by the immigration of English subjects, particularly from South Carolina as well as from overseas. In 1766, settlers arrived from the Bermudas. Doctor Andrew Turnbull undertook the development of a colony at New Smyrna; and Dennis Rolles launched a settlement not far from the present site of Palatka. After the American Revolution began, quite a few loyalist sympathisers took refuge in Florida.

During the time in which East and West Florida were British provinces, no fewer than nine clergymen were licensed for service by the Bishop of London. Besides, there were other ministers who held occasional services, as well as school-masters. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts co-operated with the Bishop of London to the extent of selecting clergymen for the Florida posts, ascertaining their qualifications, and recommending them for appointment; but the Society did not bear the expense of their journey or contribute to their stipend. Each regularly licensed clergyman received a royal bounty to defray the cost of his travel; his salary, which amounted to £100 a year, was paid by the government. The school-masters received a stipend of £50.

Governor James Grant, the first governor of East Florida, was a strong friend of the Church. By his commission (October 4th, 1763), he was given authority "to collate any Person or Persons to any Churches, Chapels, and other ecclesiastical Benefices," within the province, as often as any of them should happen to be void.³ On evacuating East Florida, the Spaniards had left their new parish church unfinished and inadequate for use. The English, on arrival, took charge of the public buildings which they found. Steps were taken by Governor Grant to organize the government of the province and to procure settlers.

In the meantime, the British Parliament had made provision for four ministers for the Florida provinces, as well as four school-masters.⁴ The Reverend John Forbes was "licensed to the plantations" of East Florida, May 5th, 1764—specifically to St. Augustine; the Reverend Samuel Hart, to Mobile (then in the bounds of West Florida), May 5th—that is, the same day; the Reverend William Dawson, to Pensacola, July 2nd. A warrant, identical in form with the warrants issued to the other clergymen, was issued in 1764 to "Michael Smith Clerk," to the "Church and Parish of St Marks in Our Province of East Florida."⁵

³*Public Record Office; Colonial Office, 5/563, p. 18.*

⁴*Acts of Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, VI., pp. 366, 389.*

⁵*Fulham MSS., reprinted in Protestant Episcopal Historical Collections, 1851, p. 112.*

Mr. Smith was not listed among the appointees of the Bishop of London to East Florida, although he was licensed by that Bishop "in the Island of Jamaica," June 19th, 1764. The extent of his services is unknown; at the end of January, 1765, he was in Jamaica, whence he drew on the provincial agent in England for his salary, giving as his excuse his extreme necessity and unexpected difficulties.⁶

John Forbes, the first Anglican minister in East Florida, was a man of exemplary qualities; he was destined to play a prominent part in the administrative and judicial life of the province as well as in the Church. He was born in Strathdon, Scotland, in 1740; and took his master of arts degree from the University of Aberdeen in 1758, afterwards attending classes in Divinity. There he was a diligent student and good scholar, and proved of unblameable character. He arrived in Florida about the same time as Governor Grant. On November 22nd, 1764, that official appointed the clergyman to a seat on the Council Board. As one of the few educated men in the province, Mr. Forbes became a valuable asset to Grant and his successors. He served on the Council during his whole residence in Florida.

Soon after taking charge of the government, Grant proceeded to furnish a site for the worship of the Church; for this purpose he selected the property used during the Spanish regime as the house of the Roman Catholic bishop. Mr. Forbes's first Florida services were conducted in that house; it stood where Trinity Church stands to-day. The parish church left unfinished by the Spaniards was probably built of stone or coquina; it was located on the site of the present Colonial Hotel, on the west side of St. George Street. Governor Grant undertook to complete the new church, and added to it a square tower and steeple. This first Anglican church in Florida was called St. Peter's Church. It is not known just when Mr. Forbes discontinued services in the temporary quarters afforded by the bishop's house. The spire of St. Peter's Church was not completed until the administration of Governor John Moultrie.

Mr. Enoch Hawksworth was recommended by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for appointment as school-master in East Florida, at the Society's meeting, November 16th, 1764. He was appointed and entered on his duties early the following year. During the American Revolution, he returned to England. In March, 1765, two school-masters were appointed for the Floridas—John Firby, for Pensacola, and Jones Read, for St. Mark's. The latter place was not deemed of much practical importance, and its settlement was very

⁶*Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 324/51, p. 234; Ibid., 5/540, pp. 207-210.*

slow; it was situated on the Gulf of Mexico, in East Florida. Governor Grant reported, in 1768, that there were no inhabitants in the St. Mark's section.

In West Florida, the British were handicapped from the start; and the short period of their occupation was full of struggles with threatening armies and with the disheartening effects of a climate to which they could not adapt themselves. The mortality was high, and there was a state of general depression. The red man was a constant menace. Colonel Prevost, of the 16th Regiment, has left a description of Pensacola, as the British found it.

"Pensacola is a small village consisting of about one hundred huts surrounded with a Stockade—Situated on the West-side of a very large bay at four Leagues distance from the Sea. . . . The Country from the insuperable Laziness of the Spaniards remains still uncultivated, the woods are close to the village and a few . . . Gardens shew the only improvements. . . . The Indians are numerous and near. . . . As I since learn of their Crueltys lately committed in America, and putting no great Confidence in their promises, I shall put this place in the best situation."

The first commission issued to Governor George Johnstone, of West Florida, November 21st, 1763, authorised him "to Collate any Person or Persons to any Churches, Chapels or other Ecclesiastical benefices" within the province, "as often as any of them shall happen to be void."

"And you are to take Care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout your Government—The Book of Common Prayer as by Law Established read each Sunday and Holiday and the Blessed Sacrament administred according to the Rites of the Church of England.

"You are not to prefer any Protestant Minister to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in the Province under your Government without a Certificate from the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London of his being conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England and of a good Life and Conversation."

No school-master was to be permitted to keep school without the Bishop's license.

"And it is Our further Will and Pleasure that a particular Spot in or near each Town as possible be set apart for the building a Church and four hundred Acres adjacent thereto

¹*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/582, pp. 26-28.*

allotted for the Maintenance of a Minister and two hundred for a school Master.”⁸

At a meeting of the Council at Pensacola, November 25th, 1764, Governor Johnstone proposed a proclamation for the promoting of religion and the restraining of vice and immorality within the province.⁹ The minutes of a Council held at Mobile, January 7th, 1765, reveal that a committee of the inhabitants had met on the 18th of December, to consider ways and means for building a church. A public subscription was opened; the Governor subscribed £150 out of the contingent fund. Pews were to be let to the inhabitants.¹⁰

Two clergymen were sent to West Florida with reasonable promptness, both under the license of the Bishop of London, as we have seen. The Reverend Samuel Hart and the Reverend William Dawson reached their destinations shortly after their appointment (1764), and began their ministry. Both soon became discouraged. Hart, the first Anglican minister at Mobile—incidentally, the first to serve in the present limits of Alabama—is known to have preached when the general congress with the Indians was held. An interpreter explained his words sentence by sentence. In 1765, he moved to South Carolina, where he became assistant at St. Michael’s Church, Charleston, during the rectorship of the Reverend Robert Cooper. In 1770, he entered on his duties as minister in charge of St. John’s parish, Berkeley, South Carolina. In that parish he died, in 1779.¹¹ The Reverend William Dawson, first Church of England minister at Pensacola, was the son of the Reverend John Dawson, of Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire. He matriculated at University College, Oxford, October 30th, 1760, at the age of eighteen; and became a bachelor of arts. He was only twenty-two when he was called upon to face the difficulties of a pioneer field. It is hard to imagine a greater contrast to the cloistered repose of Oxford. He did not remain long in Florida: in 1766, he took charge of St. John’s parish, Colleton, South Carolina. There he died, January 19th, 1767. He is buried in the old brick church on John’s Island.¹² A South Carolina clergyman, the Reverend Charles Martyn, described their removal in a letter to the Bishop of London, October 20th, 1765:—

“The vacant Parishes in this Colony have been lately filled up by such Ministers as were sent out to East & west Florida; & who disliking their Missions in those parts, have

⁸*MSS. in Library of Congress.*

⁹*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/625, p. 6; Ibid., 5/632, fol. 11.*

¹⁰*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/625, pp. 35-39, 69.*

¹¹*Dalcho: Historical Account of the P. E. Church in S. C., pp. 193, 272.*

¹²*Fothergill: List of Emigrant Ministers to America, p. 24; Foster: Alumni Osoniensis, 1715-1886.*

removed & settled here. I believe it will be difficult for some Time to induce any Of the Clergy to reside in these infant Countries; where the Necessaries of Life are procured with great Difficulty, as well as purchased at the most exorbitant Rate. . . . Mr Hart going to Pensacola is chose Lecturer of St Michaels Charles Town 200 Guineas Mr Dawson St John Colleton County at 100^{lb} beside glebe & perquisites."¹³

The Reverend Charles Woodmason, of South Carolina, in his memorable "Account," regarding conditions in the southern colonies, described West Florida as it appeared about the year 1766.

"No Civil Jurisdiction is yet settled, which has drove all the People away that came there to settle. A Chaplain ought to be here with the Troops—but alas! None. The Gov^r is a single Person, Keeps a Concubine, has a Child by her and the Infection rages, and is copied. Greatly is it to be lamented (on the Side of Vertue & Religion) that Immoral & reprobate Persons are sent out as Gov^{rs} of Provinces, and more especially New, and to be cultivated Provinces."

At Mobile, said Mr. Woodmason, there was a chapel in the fort, but no chaplain. There, "The Inhabitants (copying after the Pattern set them by their Principal) are Strangers to the Paths of Vertue, and sunk in Dissoluteness and Dissipation. . . . A Person who calls himself a Clergyman, patrols about this Place, and officiates occasionally. But if He is One, They say He is such a Disgrace to the Character that they (bad as they are) hold him in Detestation."¹⁴ It is probable that Mr. Woodmason referred to one of the non-conformist ministers, who are mentioned in several West Florida letters; there was no clergyman of the Church of England on duty in West Florida between the early part of 1765 and the end of 1767.

On Christmas day, 1766, the provincial government of West Florida sought to encourage immigration into their rather forlorn and uninhabited region by passing "an Act to encourage foreigners to come into and settle in this province." The act permitted freedom of conscience and worship to Roman Catholics by special provision.¹⁵ For some time after the cession of West Florida to Great Britain, the Spanish Roman Catholic priest at Mobile, Father Ferdinand, continued to hold services in that town. He was tolerated and well regarded; but he finally felt compelled to abandon his flock and go to New Orleans, be-

¹³*Fulham MSS., S. C. 230 (Stevens & Brown Library of Congress Transcript).*

¹⁴*Woodmason Account of S. C., N. C., Ga., 1766 (Fulham MSS., S. C. #298, 299, 300—Stevens & Brown Library of Congress Transcript).*

¹⁵*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/623, pp. 43-46.*

cause of the inability of his parishioners to support him. The unsettled state of the province caused indefinite postponement, so far as the physical equipment for the means of worship was concerned. No church was built in either Pensacola or Mobile during the whole period of the British occupation. The need was keenly felt, and was emphatically urged. An "Humble Representation of the Council and Assembly for the Province of West Florida" was addressed "to the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations," November 22nd, 1766. It contained the following argument for the erecting of churches in the two principal towns:—

"To see the Fortifications, Churches, Hospitals and Public Buildings, which are everywhere erecting in the Spanish Dominions, since the arrival of Don Antonio de Ulloa"—the Spanish governor at New Orleans—"whilst nothing is undertaken on our part is extremely mortifying to those who consider the changeful State of European Powers. . . . We have not even any place of Worship for asking the Blessing of Providence on our Endeavours, neither any place for holding the Courts of Justice, nor even the meeting of Assembly, except such changable apartments, as are hired on the Occasions from the Scanty Contingencies of the Province."¹⁶

After the departure of Messrs. Hart and Dawson, a certain Doctor Wilkinson seems to have acted as chaplain of the garrisons at Mobile and, probably, at Pensacola. Nothing has been definitely ascertained regarding him. Certainly, after his death, no clergyman was left to attend to the spiritual needs of the soldiers and citizenry.

Equipment was furnished for public worship in the form of folio Bibles, prayer books, communion silver, pulpit hangings, and vestments. A list of the articles needed was approved by the Lords of Trade and Plantations, July 20th, 1764; and the same were sent in an artillery storeship to Florida.¹⁷ Doctor Charles M. Andrews has described the manner in which communion plate was loaned to the colonies, as in the case of East and West Florida.

"On warrants issued by the Lord Chamberlain to the master of the Jewel House or Office, orders were given to the goldsmiths to make silver communion plate for use in the churches and chapels of the colonies. When completed, such plate was received from the goldsmiths into the Jewel House and a receipt given therefor. From the Jewel House it was handed over to the governor of the colony or to someone

¹⁶*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/575, pp. 222-223.*

¹⁷*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/540, pp. 141-145; Warrant Book, 1762-1782, L. of C. 5/111, p. 24; Receipt Book, 1728-1764, L. of C. 9/48, p. 237.*

authorized to receive it, and transmitted to North America or the West Indies. In but few instances was it an outright gift. Generally it was a loan to the governor for the use of the chapel or church in the colony, designed to be handed on from governor to governor, or, on demand, or when no longer needed, returned to the Jewel House. In such cases the plate remained the property of the crown.

"The plate consisted of two flagons, one chalice, one or two patens, and a receiver or basin. Though the warrant generally limited the value to £80, the actual cost ranged from £56 to £87, and the weight from 180 to 205 ounces."¹⁸

William Stork, in his account of East Florida (1766), noted that "there are two churches within the walls of the town"—St. Augustine—"the parish church, a plain building, and another belonging to the convent of Franciscan friars, which is converted into barracks for the garrison." By "the parish church," Stork undoubtedly meant St. Peter's Church. According to the same author, the lands belonging to the Indian township nearby had been given to the parish church as glebelands.¹⁹ The Reverend Charles Woodmason included East Florida in his account (1766). The province, he said, consists of only one town—St. Augustine—two chapels, "but quite Naked—Void of all Embellishments; the Spaniards having stripped them of everything. There are few Traders or Inhabitants beside the Garrison, Settlers, Publick Officers, and others dependant on them. The Gov^r is a Single Man, keeps a Concubine, & the other Officers copy the Example—so that no Face or Appearance of Religion is there to be seen."²⁰

In 1768, some fourteen hundred Minorcans, a number of Frenchmen, and about seventy-five Greeks, under the leadership of Doctor Andrew Turnbull, formed a settlement on the North Hillsborough stream, which was named New Smyrna. The Reverend Mr. Forbes, of St. Augustine, visited this colony before the appointment of a regular minister. On the 23rd of March, 1769, the Reverend John Fraser was licensed to East Florida by the Bishop of London, and was designed for St. Mark's. He received the royal bounty to defray the cost of his passage, April 1st.²¹ On his arrival, he found the prospects of an effective work at St. Mark's hopeless, and he turned to the promising Turnbull colony. Hence Mr. Fraser became the first Anglican clergyman resident in the bounds of the present Diocese of South Florida, just as New

¹⁸*Andrews: Guides to the Materials for American History to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain, II., p. 107.*

¹⁹*Stork: An Account of East Florida, with a Journal, kept by John Bartram of Philadelphia, Botanist to His Majesty for The Floridas. . . 1766, pp. 33-34.*

²⁰*Woodmason: Account of S. C., N. C., Ga., 1766 (Fulham MSS., #298, 299, 300—Stevens & Brown Library of Congress Transcript).*

²¹*Fulham MSS., Missionary Bonds; Fothergill: List of Emigrant Ministers, p. 28.*

Smyrna became the first established parish therein. Little is known of Mr. Fraser's services, although his name is mentioned from time to time in the documents. New Smyrna proved an important missionary field. Fraser died in 1772; after his death, other Church of England clergymen administered to the needs of the inhabitants.²²

On the 2nd of February, 1769, the Reverend Mr. Forbes married Miss Dorothy Murray, the daughter of James Murray, Esq., of Milton, Massachusetts, a man of considerable wealth and prominence. The three sons of this union achieved positions of leadership financially and politically; and their descendants are well-known and influential.²³ During the administrations which followed that of Governor James Grant, Mr. Forbes maintained his office and prestige. From the time of his first appointment to the Colonial Council, his name appears on many documents, which still exist in the archives of the British Public Record Office. Governor Patrick Tonyn, who began his administration in East Florida in March, 1774, was a warm supporter of the Church and an admirer of Mr. Forbes, whose services he utilized. Besides being a member of the Council, Forbes became sole judge surrogate of His Majesty's Court of Vice-Admiralty, and assistant judge of the Court of Common Law of the province. In February, 1776, William Drayton was suspended from the office of Chief Justice by Governor Tonyn; and Mr. Forbes was appointed his successor until the King's pleasure could be known. In recommending the confirmation of the appointment of Mr. Forbes as Chief Justice, Governor Tonyn said:—

“Although Mr Forbes has not been regularly bred to the Profession of the Law, I will venture to say, my Lord, from his liberal Sentiments, and Education, and the Application he has given to the knowledge of the Constitution and laws of the Country, he will discharge the Office with credit to himself, and satisfaction to the public. His knowledge and judgment in the law Department, has been of essential Service, in carrying on the public Business of the Province.”²⁴

Mr. Drayton went to England to plead his cause, and succeeded in becoming reinstated in office. Forbes was thus deprived of his judicial functions, and denied all stipends and fees accruing during his incumbency. In December, 1777, Drayton was suspended from office a second time; and Governor Tonyn again appointed Mr. Forbes as Chief Justice. But Lord Germaine, the Secretary of State for the colonies, did not approve of the appointment of a clergyman to the office; and James Hume, acting attorney-general of Georgia, was installed.

²²*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/550, p. 75; Ibid., 5/575, p. 94.*

²³*Notice of Forbes's marriage: Georgia Gazette, April 5, 1769.*

²⁴*Letter to Lord George Germaine: Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/556, pp. 549-552.*

Another clergyman arrived in East Florida in the person of the Reverend John Leadbeater, who received the royal bounty for his passage, May 18th, 1773.²⁵ Though officially licensed to St. Mark's, he ministered instead to the New Smyrna colonists, left unshepherded by the death of Mr. Fraser. Leadbeater remained in the colony until ill health caused him to return home, in 1775.²⁶ Sometime afterwards, he secured the services of a young clergyman, the Reverend John Kennedy, who received the bounty for his journey, January 1st, 1777. Mr. Kennedy's stay was short. He was nominated as Mr. Leadbeater's curate in the parish of St. Mark's; but he probably visited outlying sections and worked at New Smyrna.

A church for English worship had been built in New Smyrna as early as 1771, when Mr. Fraser was in charge. William Gerard DeBrahm, surveyor of lands in East Florida, mentions the existence of an English church and one for the Roman Catholics.²⁷

As noted already, the completion of the tower of St. Peter's Church, St. Augustine, was in the administration of Governor John Moultrie, who succeeded to that office June 7th, 1771. On the 30th of July, 1773, Governor Moultrie wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State:—

"I have entered into the expence of building a Tower to the Church of St Augustine. I thought it necessary and almost of course, as Government had most bountifully given a Clock and Bell to that Church, which had no place of reception for them: and I also thought that your Lordship would not be displeased that I expended a little on the Church, when not only real use was intended, but decency in the appearance of the House of God, for publick worship."²⁸

In the general account of contingent expenses for East Florida, June 25th, 1772 to June 24th, 1773, there is the following:—

"To Cash paid John Hewitt, p^r Contract for building a Spire to the Church of St Peter in St Augustine.... £319 . . . To Repairing the Church Yard Gates seting on two Locks hasps & staples.... 18 (shillings)."²⁹

On the 16th of December, 1773, Governor Moultrie transmitted to the Secretary of State "a View of the Steeple of the Church of St Augustine, which will soon be finished." He continued,—

²⁵*Fothergill: list of Emigrant Ministers*, p. 40.

²⁶*Public Record Office: Colonial Office*, 5/555, pp. 147-150.

²⁷*DeBrahm MSS.*, original in Harvard College Library; several times reprinted.

²⁸*Public Record Office: Colonial Office*, 5/553, p. 68.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 120, 123.

"In the execution of this building as well as that of the State house, I have earnestly endeavoured to throw as much Strength, convenience, and ornament into them as could possibly be done for the money expended thereon. If Your Lordship should be of opinion that I have tolerably succeeded in my intentions I shall be happy. I flatter myself that these Edifices will be, not only of real public utility, but an Ornament to this Young Province."³⁰

While the activities of the Church were far from dormant in East Florida, the situation in the sister province was distressing. On the 1st of February, 1768, Lieutenant-Governor Montfort Browne, of West Florida, advised the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, that "on Consideration of the great Decay of Religion among His Majesty's Subjects of this Province," he had been forced to call on a dissenting minister—Mr. Matthew McHenry, a native of Pennsylvania—to act as pastor for that district until a clergyman from England should arrive.³¹

In February, 1768, the Reverend Nathaniel Cotton was collated to Pensacola, to succeed the late Mr. Dawson. He arrived on the scene soon afterwards; and was received with gratification by the inhabitants. There was a memorial promptly addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough by the people of Pensacola, complaining of their lack of a place of public worship and deploring their incapacity to provide a church. The only house of worship in all West Florida, they said, belonged to the Roman Catholics at Mobile.³²

Nathaniel Cotton began his work with energy, and proved an industrious and zealous priest. He secured prayer books and tracts for his members, and tried to remedy the deplorable conditions. He was a good correspondent; and his letters afford an insight into the struggles and demoralisations through which the province was passing. He performed many baptisms as well as burials. On the 3rd of July, 1771, he died in harness. His death left a considerable void; and Governor Peter Chester wrote regarding him with deep feeling.³³

Governor Chester tried to procure a suitable house for administrative and religious purposes, and he investigated the cost. The house which he occupied as his residence had formerly been used for religious services, court sessions, and official headquarters; but its condition was

³⁰*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/554, pp. 1-2. A picture of the elevation of the steeple of St. Peter's Church, enclosed in this letter, is in: Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/554, #29; a photostat of the same is in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division.*

³¹*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/585, pp. 81-82.*

³²*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/586, pp. 3-7.*

³³*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/578, pp. 243-244; Ibid., 5/588, pp. 305-306.*

very bad. During the whole British occupation, no structure adequate for public worship was provided.

In April, 1773, a successor for Mr. Cotton was chosen in the Reverend George Chapman; but Mr. Chapman lost his nerve at the gloomy prospect, and declined to go to West Florida. In a letter written August 13th, 1773, he explained his refusal:—

“I am a married Man, and have a young Family. Several Gentlemen who are well acquainted with the Climate of Florida assure me that a Man at my time of Life, and of my Constitution, has not the smallest Chance of living six weeks at Pensacola. This Consideration joined with the dreadful consequent One of leaving a helpless Orphan Family staggers me not a little.”³⁴

Mr. Chapman is not to be judged harshly; the province was the most western of all the British provinces, and was also the most exposed. The mortality had been exceedingly high, as is evident from Mr. Cotton's lists of burials. West Florida did not enjoy an enviable reputation.

Almost to the end of the British occupation, there were requests for a resident clergyman for Pensacola; but all was to no avail. Save for the ministrations of the priest at Mobile, there were no Anglican services there. The state of war in America made the spiritual welfare of the colonists a subordinate consideration; and the British government was more concerned with affairs military and political than with the religious needs of a distant and unpromising province. That Governor Peter Chester was sincerely interested in the progress of the Church in West Florida is shown not only by his frequent references to the want of a minister and of a suitable house for public worship, but also to his appropriation of fines for the creation of a church building fund. As soon as he amassed the equivalent of £280, he reported the fact home (January 17th, 1778); he received authority to proceed with his plans for erecting a church.³⁵ But it was too late. The end of West Florida, as a British possession, was in sight.

The Reverend William Gordon, who was sent to Mobile in 1767, was an admirable character, and proved a faithful minister. He remained at his post of duty until the end of the British regime in the province. As no house was provided, he was compelled to rent his own quarters; for this purpose, he received no assistance from the public funds, and his parishioners were too poor to help him.

In 1779, Bernardo de Galvez, Governor of Louisiana, made a

³⁴*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 3/154, p. 42a.*

³⁵*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/594, pp. 267, 270; 669-672.*

dash from New Orleans towards the British strongholds on the Mississippi, and captured them successively before reinforcements could arrive. The garrison of Mobile consisted then of 379 men, besides Mr. Gordon, the chaplain, the commissary, the surgeon's mate, and some servants. On the 2nd of February, 1780, Galvez sailed for Mobile with two thousand men. He landed in the Bay, and found the commander unprepared. He began his assault. The house of the Reverend Mr. Gordon was burned by order of Lieutenant-Governor Durnford, lest it afford shelter to the Spaniards in attacking the fort and throwing up their battery. All efforts to defend the town were futile. The garrison capitulated on the 14th of March; and Mobile passed into the hands of the Spaniards, and became a base of operations against Pensacola. Reinforcements came from Cuba to aid Galvez; and Pensacola surrendered May 8th, 1781. Thus West Florida ceased to be a British province.

After the conquest of West Florida, Mr. Gordon returned to England, and became curate at Malden in Essex.³⁶ At the time of surrender, the Church was represented at Pensacola by Mr. John Firby, the school-master recommended by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Since East Florida remained loyal to the British Crown throughout the American Revolution, there was quite an immigration of the dwellers of the other provinces who had no desire to sever their allegiance to Great Britain yet found residence in the war-swept colonies unbearable. Among the Tory refugees was the Reverend James Seymour, of Augusta, Georgia, who arrived in St. Augustine in 1783, after a distressing experience. A native of Aberdeen and a graduate of Kings College, Aberdeen University, Seymour had been a school-master prior to his ordination. At the outbreak of the war, his strong loyalist sympathies created antagonism; and he found himself deprived of his church and parsonage. In fact, his life was threatened. On his removal to Florida, he found work at St. Augustine and the surrounding districts. Between the 8th of June, 1783, and the 14th of February, 1784, he baptised ninety-four children, married thirty-three couples, and buried forty-seven corpses.³⁷

As a loyal province, East Florida served as a place for holding prisoners of war. After the surrender of Charleston, South Carolina, to the British, certain patriots were sent to St. Augustine. Among the prisoners was the Reverend John Lewis, rector of St. Paul's parish, Colleton, South Carolina—a man ardently attached to the American

³⁶*Audit Office: Loyalist Series: Vol. 99, Dec. 1792-May, 1783.*

³⁷*S. P. G. New Photostats, Florida, in Library of Congress, pp. 302-305.*

cause. Having excited the displeasure of the British, Mr. Lewis was captured by Lord Cornwallis; and on the 27th of August, 1780, he was put on board a prison-ship and transported to Florida. His spirit, however, was not subdued; on his arrival, he preached a sermon which angered Governor Tonyn. In consequence, he was confined in the castle—the present Fort Marion—and there he remained until the general exchange of prisoners. He was then sent with the rest of the prisoners to Philadelphia. On his return to his cure, he continued his duties till his death in 1784.³⁸

In the confusion incident to the proximity of war, the province of East Florida became somewhat demoralized. It was hard to secure grants for extraordinary purposes. In January, 1782, Governor Tonyn appealed to the General Assembly of the province for help in "Establishing a public Worship and a ministry upon the most Liberal principles of toleration consistent with the excellent constitution of the Church of England." In his speech, he spoke of "the ruinous condition of the Parochial Church in this Town." In speaking to the Commons, January 25th, 1782, he said:—

"The State of the parochial Church is become so ruinous, as to render it unfit for public worship, and religious Ordinances, the discharge of which is so essential for the morals of the people. I shall therefore sett about such necessary repairs, as the small fund in my hands will admit of."³⁹

A solitary province, sparsely inhabited and mostly undeveloped, situated as East Florida was—separated from the loyal British possessions in America by more than a thousand miles of coast-line—was regarded as a precarious and unprofitable asset by Great Britain at the end of the Revolution. About 1783, there were rumours afloat in the province that the mother-country was about to cede the land back to Spain. Untold anxiety was caused among the settlers; many of them had staked their entire fortune on the prospect of a permanent abode in Florida, and had done their best to cultivate the land and build houses. They had no desire to exchange their holdings for estates in Nova Scotia or the Bahamas.

A petition was, therefore, drawn up, in the hopes that the government would consider their case and retain possession of the province. The principal inhabitants of East Florida signed this petition, which bore the date of June 6th, 1783; and the Reverend John Forbes, with a letter of introduction from Governor Tonyn, was sent to England to

³⁸*Alexander Garden: Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America . . .*, p. 200.

³⁹*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, 5/560, p. 364.*

present the appeal in person. It was too late. On September 3rd, 1783, Great Britain by the Treaty signed at Versailles provided for the cession of East Florida to Spain. Mr. Forbes himself, who had been in bad health for some time, died soon after reaching England. A note in the Public Record Office, of November 10th, 1783, speaks of "y^e Rev^d Mr Forbes lately deceased."⁴⁰

Thus ended the British rule in Florida. Instructions were issued to Governor Tonyn, informing him of the cession. Eighteen months were allowed to the British subjects, in which to leave the province, sell their effects, and take up their abode in other territory. With the coming of the Spaniards, the Church of England dwindled away. The Church of St. Peter's fell into decay; its very name was lost, and when Episcopal services were resumed at St. Augustine some forty years later, the name "Trinity" was used to designate the church. A deed, dated October 6th, 1792, refers to the former church as demolished.⁴¹

II.

After the cession of Florida to Spain, in 1783, the Roman Catholic religion alone was tolerated. In many instances Protestants were constrained to be re-married by the Roman Catholic priest of St. Augustine. The Minorcans who resided in the colony became Roman Catholics, so far as they paid any attention to religion.⁴² The Anglican church at St. Augustine was demolished, as we have seen; and the stones were used in the erection of the present Roman Catholic church, as were also the materials of the British colonial government house and the German Church at Tolomata. "Although the Church was extinct as a visible body, yet some few scattered persons with praiseworthy constancy, adhered to the true faith, and from the circumstance of possessing the Book of Common Prayer, were enabled to worship God in the use of our invaluable Liturgy. In one instance the Morning Service was regularly used by a large family during forty-five years."⁴³

On the 19th of February, 1821, Florida passed under the political control of the United States of America, under the treaty of purchase which had been signed between the King of Spain and the American government, February 22nd, 1819. Thus it became an American territorial possession. Matters forthwith began to assume a more favourable aspect. Soon after the change of flags, which took place in July,

⁴⁰*Public Record Office: Colonial Office, #12.*

⁴¹*East Florida Papers, Escrituras, Library of Congress, 1792, p. 559.*

⁴²*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 12, 1829 (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 41 (Letter of R. A. Henderson).*

⁴³*Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society of the P. E. Church: Periodical Paper, Nov., 1831, pp. 2-4.*

1821, the American residents of St. Augustine "determined on procuring the services of a Protestant clergyman, and agreed that he should be of the Episcopal Church. Application was made, and the Rev. Andrew Fowler went there, under the auspices of the Young Men's Missionary Society of Charleston, S. C."⁴⁴

That organization was under the presidency of Bishop Nathaniel Bowen (1779-1839) of South Carolina. Andrew Fowler wrote an account, published in the *Church Messenger* (Charleston), in which it was shown that he was applied to by that society of young men to go as a missionary to St. Augustine for two months. He sailed from Charleston on the schooner "Volant," and arrived after a voyage of four days.

"On arriving at the quarantine grounds they were boarded by the port physician and were informed that a malignant fever prevailed to a fearful extent and that the citizens were much alarmed at the situation. Although advised by the physician not to go on shore, as he would be in imminent danger of taking the disease and perhaps losing his life, to use his own words: 'Having been often where yellow fever prevailed, it seemed a providential circumstance that I should arrive at that particular crisis and I was resolved at all events to land and trust myself to the Almighty power which I knew was able to protect me in the hour of danger, and to be resigned to what appeared to me to be his will and my duty herein; as well knowing that my ministerial labors could not be more needed than in this season of their great distress and awful affliction.'"⁴⁵

Mr. Fowler officiated in St. Augustine from October 2nd, 1821, till May, 1823, save for an absence of five months.

On the 24th of May, 1823, the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church "resolved that St. Augustine and Pensacola, in the Floridas, be considered missionary stations, with an appropriation of \$400, for the support of missionaries there."⁴⁶ The Reverend Mellish Irving Motte, who had been ordained deacon by Bishop Bowen June 17th, 1823, was appointed by the aforesaid Society; and embarked for St. Augustine the last of June. Soon after his arrival, he wrote:—

"I think it of immense importance to have a church in this place. Idleness and dissipation must reign triumphant,

⁴⁴*Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society of the P. E. Church: Periodical Paper*, Nov., 1831, pp. 2-4. For a sketch of Andrew Fowler (1760-1850), see E. Clowes Charley: *The Reverend Andrew Fowler, in the Historical Magazine of the P. E. Church*, III., pp. 270-279.

⁴⁵J. J. Daniel: *Historical Sketch of the Church in Florida*, 1888, p. 13.

⁴⁶*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, 1823-1826 (Philadelphia, 1826)*, p. 10.

when so many circumstances conspire to encourage them. There is great room for improvement, but I suspect but little can be done for some time. I preach in the Court room twice on Sundays, and this is all, except visiting from house to house, that I am allowed to do. When people will not go to Church, what can I do, but silently pray that their hearts may be changed?"

In less than a year, Mr. Motte was so discouraged that, by advice of the Executive Committee, he returned to South Carolina, where he received work.⁴⁷

The Reverend Christopher Edwards Gadsden (1785-1852), who became bishop of South Carolina in 1840, visited St. Augustine in October and November, 1824. Another South Carolina clergyman, the Reverend Edward Phillips (died September 26th, 1855), ministered there from April to June, 1825; during his residence the cornerstone of an intended church was laid. It was afterwards removed.⁴⁸ From August 15th to October 26th, 1825, the Reverend Philip Gadsden, recently ordained deacon by the Bishop of South Carolina, officiated at St. Augustine. When he left, no clergyman was appointed in his place. "From this time, all efforts ceased, and all hope of establishing the Church was given up. . . . The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, however, had not lost sight of this interesting region. The difficulty in procuring persons possessing the various and peculiar qualifications requisite for the laborious work, and willing to undergo all the accumulated distresses, ever ready to overwhelm a faithful missionary, and of getting money to support them, necessarily delayed the execution of the benevolent plans of the Society."⁴⁹ In 1826, Judge Thomas Douglas, a native of Connecticut, moved to St. Augustine as United States District Attorney for East Florida. (In 1845, he was appointed Judge of the Eastern Circuit of the state). Mr. Douglas was active in the building of the church in the town; he served as a lay reader, and was interested in the music. When he removed to Jacksonville in 1844, he transferred his energies to the parish there. Others prominent in the early history of the St. Augustine church were Abraham Dupont, a native of South Carolina and a planter; Judge Joseph Smith, Federal judge; the Honourable Elias B. Gould; the Honourable Benjamin A. Putnam; and Mr. George Gibbs.⁵⁰ On the 10th of April, 1827, a meeting of the members at St. Augustine was held; wardens and vestrymen were elected; and a parochial organization was effected under the name of Trinity Church.

⁴⁷*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, 1823-1826* (Philadelphia, 1826), p. 15.

⁴⁸*Fairbanks: The Early Churchmen of Florida, 1889, p. 32.*

⁴⁹*Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society of the P. E. Church: Periodical Paper, Nov., 1831, pp. 2-4.*

⁵⁰*Fairbanks: The Early Churchmen of Florida, 1889, pp. 3-5.*

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, in November, 1826, the newly created Florida seat of government—Tallahassee—was made a missionary station, on the motion of the Reverend Christopher Gadsden. The Reverend Ralph Williston (died 1840, at the age of sixty-five), of the Diocese of Delaware, was appointed missionary by the Society, in May, 1827, with a view to proceeding to Tallahassee. He departed for his mission early in the spring; but having reached Pensacola, he was advised against proceeding to his destination at that season. After passing some weeks in Pensacola, during which time he organized a respectable congregation and started securing subscriptions for building a church, he returned to Philadelphia. About the close of October, Mr. Williston again started for Tallahassee, where he arrived the following month. After an absence of six months, he again returned to Philadelphia, "with the intention, if the Executive Committee should be able to sustain him, to take his family to Florida, and there enter upon the work of a gospel missionary." The Committee felt that there was "no region of country open to them where the services of faithful missionaries are more needed."⁵¹ So Mr. Williston was authorised to proceed with his mission.

As the work in Pensacola preceded that in Tallahassee, it is fitting here to introduce Mr. Williston's account of the beginning of Anglican services there, some fifty years after the foremost town of West Florida had enjoyed the privileges of Episcopal ministrations. In his report, July 10th, 1827, the missionary said:—

"I passed three Sundays in (Pensacola). . . . On the first, I performed divine service, and preached in the old theatre, in which Mr. Hardy, the Methodist preacher, usually officiates; on the other two Sundays, I officiated in the court-house. The whole of the American population, and many of the Catholic, attended divine service on every Sunday; and those Americans who had prayer-books, devoutly joined in the service. All were serious and attentive. Having ascertained the views and wishes of the American population, I had had inserted in the Pensacola paper, an invitation for all interested to meet on a day, with the view of organizing an Episcopal church. On the day appointed, a numerous meeting was had, which resulted in the organization of an Episcopal church, by the name of Christ church, Pensacola, without a dissenting vote. The vestry having been elected at said meeting, held their first meeting the same evening, and appointed two of their number church wardens, together with several committees, one of which was authorized to obtain an act of incorporation for said church,

⁵¹*Proceedings of the Board of Directors, Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 13, 1828, pp. 15-16.*

at the next meeting of the legislative council, and the other to issue subscription papers to raise money for the support of a clergyman, and for building an Episcopal church."

While in Pensacola, Mr. Williston baptized four children and three adults, and performed one marriage.⁵²

Mr. Williston arrived in Tallahassee for the first time, in November 1827; there he remained till the following March, when he returned to Philadelphia. On reaching Tallahassee, he "entered upon his labours with the determination . . . to make the most profitable use of the time remaining to him during the year for which he was engaged to the Society." On becoming acquainted with the families settled there, he "found that a very large majority of them were episcopalians, or such as gave a decided preference to the episcopal church." He passed twelve Sundays in middle Florida, dividing his time between Tallahassee and Wascissa (eighteen miles east of Tallahassee). Between Sundays, he visited from house to house.

"The result of his labours has been, the organization of the parish of St. John's, in Tallahassee, embracing between thirty and forty families of respectability and intelligence. In this parish there were found only two members of the episcopal church who had been communicants, and it was deemed advisable to defer the administration of that holy sacrament to some future time. Your missionary baptized five children, and arrangements were made for a Sunday-school.

"At Wascissa, every arrangement was made for the organization of the parish of St. Philip's, but as some of the families had but recently settled there, and it being a very busy time with them, the formalities of its organization were postponed to a time of more leisure. . . . This congregation embraces fifteen or more families of the greatest respectability. Their intention is to build a church for their accommodation during the summer."

Several towns in middle Florida seemed promising as fields. Gifts of lots for building churches were secured in Magnolia (south of Tallahassee on the St. Mark's river), Rockhaven (southeast of Tallahassee), Aspalaga (south of Chattahoochee on the east side of the Apalachicola river), and Monticello (the present county-seat of Jefferson county).

Mr. Williston decided to visit St. Augustine before his return north. "He accordingly commenced his journey alone, to perform a journey through the wilderness of about two hundred and fifty miles, and after eight days of fatigue and peril he safely arrived there the later part of February (1828), where he remained, and performed divine

⁵²*Proceedings of the Board of Directors, Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 13, 1828, pp. 32-34.*

service and preached four successive Sundays, morning and evening, to large congregations, in the old government house, and diligently employed himself on week days in visiting all, without distinction, Americans, Spaniards, and Minorcans." The prospects impressed him favourably.

"A decidedly large majority of the American population are episcopalians—they have a lot of ground on which to erect a church, situated on a corner of the public square, the very site on which once stood the first church erected in that city, and also have at the command of the vestry as good as \$3000 for the erection of a church thereon. . . . And such is the situation of that city for salubrity of air, that it is, and ever must be, resorted to for health by invalids, and its claim on episcopalians for aid in the erection of their church, is well founded and urgent. There are about fifteen families of episcopalians in that city, besides a considerable number who have their sugar estates in the interior, and who will pass their summers in the city."

Mr. Williston baptized seven children in St. Augustine, and administered the Holy Communion to thirteen persons. He suggested that a missionary be placed there, who might divide his time with the people on the St. John's river, "where there are episcopal families." In fact, that missionary could occasionally visit Alachua and Tampa. "At the latter place, your missionary has been informed that a clergyman of the Episcopal church would obtain a chaplaincy, and a compensation for instructing the Indians. Tampa, and the section of the country in its neighbourhood, will become, at no distant day, a very interesting portion of Florida." 1828 closed with an encouraging outlook: three Episcopal parishes were organised in Florida, and there was the prospect of a fourth. There were many inducements for clergymen there. "Ample provisions are made for the support of schools in every township. . . . Favoured with the regular trade winds from the gulf, there cannot be a finer climate in the world. . . . Irrigated by innumerable springs, fountains, and streams of the purest water, it presents the prospect of uninterrupted health—and a rapidly increasing population."⁵³

There was a treaty stipulation, as suggested by Mr. Williston, by which the United States agreed to furnish \$1000 a year for a teacher at Tampa Bay. The Indians, however, declined to receive a teacher; "giving as one among several reasons, that learning had, as far as their observations extended, made these Indians who received it 'greater rascals,' having enabled them to sign away the lands of the rest without their knowledge or consent. They have also religious scruples

⁵³*Proceedings of the Board of Directors, Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 13, 1828, pp. 34-36.*

about it. They say that Great Spirit intended them for warriors and hunters.”⁵⁴

In 1829, the population of Pensacola consisted of about two thousand, of whom more than half were Roman Catholics. “The state of morals is low; and the Lord’s day almost wholly disregarded. Shops and stores are open for business, drays traverse the streets, &c. on that day as on others. A majority of the most respectable classes of the American population express, and appear to feel, a deep regret at this state of things.” At that time there were twelve communicants of Episcopal Church, eight or ten Methodists, two Presbyterians, and one or two Baptists. The Roman Catholics were without a priest, and were “said to be fast verging towards infidelity. They speak either Creole French or Spanish. The larger proportion of the Protestant population is favourable to the Episcopal Church.” For many miles around Pensacola, the country was a wilderness. The soil was barren and sandy.⁵⁵ The Reverend Addison Searle of New York (died 1850), was appointed missionary to Pensacola by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, in August, 1828; he resigned in May, 1829. In reporting his activities, he stated that on January 1st, 1829, he left Buffalo and his people of the congregation of St. Paul’s Church; and travelled “with as little delay as possible” to Pensacola, where he arrived February 3rd.

“Since that time I have been diligent in the business of this Missionary station. My reception by the people here has been very satisfactory. Nearly all of the American population have given a decided preference to the services of the Episcopal Church. Their attention on Sundays, has been gratifying to me. My congregations have been more than one hundred persons.”

He regretted that it was “not only expedient but necessary for him to resign.” The Pensacola vestry sent a letter to the Society, expressing “their thanks for the kind attention paid to their wants in sending to them so able, and efficient, pious and amiable a pastor, as the Rev. Mr. Searle, who during his short residence among them has proved himself well calculated to unite and promote the interests of the church, and the spiritual happiness of its members.” They requested another missionary.⁵⁶

⁵⁴*Letter of the Rev. Horatio N. Gray, April 21, 1829, quoting Gov. W. P. Duval.*

⁵⁵*Quarterly Papers of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, July, 1829, p. 47.*

⁵⁶*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 12, 1829 (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 35.*

The Reverend Horatio Nelson Gray, rector of Christ Church, Georgetown, Maryland, was appointed missionary to Tallahassee in October, 1828; and departed shortly afterwards. On his way, he preached "two Sabbaths" in St. Augustine, and performed a marriage. On the 3rd of February, 1829, he wrote:—

"Since my arrival in Middle Florida, I have established regular service the first two Sundays of each month in Tallahassee, and the last two in Jefferson county. All the places for public worship in Tallahassee were so pre-occupied by other denominations (although erected chiefly at the expense of Episcopalians), that we were entirely crowded out, until the trustees had to pass a law opening one of the rooms to Episcopalians.

"Much as I am embarrassed, living now entirely on my own funds, I have offered to buy a lot in Tallahassee, if the Episcopalians will build a church. They promise to do so, and I hope in the course of the year to see two Episcopal churches erected in Florida."

Mr. Gray appealed to his friends for help.

"This country is more in its infancy than you are aware at the north. All are but beginners, and struggling with many privations and difficulties. Most of the settlers are those who have come to improve their fortunes, and are not at all disposed to give any thing at present for the support of religion. They must get themselves 'under way' first. I am therefore told by the people, that they can do nothing for the support of a clergyman for a year or two. This year especially, will be one of heavy expense to the planters, in erecting sugar-houses, mills, &c., as they expect to commence manufacturing next fall. . . . The Society should not expect too much of their missionaries at first. A clergyman is rather endured than welcomed by a population long unused to religious services, and destitute of the christian spirit. Now and then one manifests a little interest, but it is feeble compared with the state of feeling where the services of religion are regularly enjoyed."

Mr. Gray devoted half of his time to Tallahassee; and the other half to Wascissa, in Jefferson county, where he had services in the house of Colonel Gadsden. He found the prospects more encouraging in the latter place than in Tallahassee, where the population was more divided among the different religious bodies. About twenty families attended church at Wascissa, while not more than twelve could be counted on at Tallahassee. On the 5th of August, 1829, Mr. Gray died at the age of twenty-nine. During the fall, St. John's, Tallahassee, was incorporated.⁵⁷

⁵⁷*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 12, 1829, pp. 35-38; Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, Board of Directors, May 11, 1830 (Philadelphia, 1830), p. 17.*

The Reverend Raymond Alphonso Henderson, of Pennsylvania, was appointed missionary for St. Augustine by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, in December, 1828. He arrived the following January; and entered immediately upon his duties. About two-thirds of the non-Roman Catholic population of the town were Episcopalians; and efforts were being made to erect a church. A lot had been secured by Act of Congress to the vestry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Henderson began holding services in the council chamber of the old government house on Sunday mornings; his congregations of about 160 was said to be "the largest and most respectable assemblage of Protestants since the time of the English." He visited the sick, distributed tracts and Bibles, and made contacts with the Minorcans, who were mostly members of the Greek Church. He was confident that the majority of the Minorcans "might be reclaimed from the ignorance with which they are now surrounded, and be gathered into our church," if there were a suitable building erected for worship. "They already view our church as approximating the nearest to their own; and view me with increasing regard, from the circumstances of my being born in England and being single." Henderson felt that the want of a church building was "the chief barrier to the prosperity" of the Church.

On the 15th of April, 1829, Henderson reported a visit to the new town of Jacksonville. It was on that occasion that the first Episcopal services were held there.

"On the 11th (April), I left this city for Jacksonville, on the St. John's river, 41 miles distant. I arrived at 3 o'clock, at the ferry opposite, but owing to the violence of the wind, was detained until the next morning, when I crossed the river, and performed service, and preached morning and afternoon. On Monday morning, performed the burial service in the case of a Mr. James Maxwell, said to be an English naval officer, on half-pay; he was a stranger, and had arrived at the ferry, opposite to Jacksonville, from St. Augustine, on Saturday evening, and died suddenly on Sunday morning.

"I visited on Monday afternoon Judge Bethune's, an Episcopal family, about four miles above Jacksonville. I was invited to extend my visits, but time would not permit, and I returned to the city yesterday in time for the mail. These were the first Episcopal services ever witnessed in that part of the country, and they were well received."⁵⁸

During the summer of 1829, the sum of more than \$1500 was raised by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society for building a

⁵⁸*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 12, 1829 (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 42.*

church at St. Augustine. The congregations of New York City gave \$1200 of that amount.⁵⁹ In February, 1830, a building committee was appointed. By the end of the year, Mr. Henderson was able to report the progress of a hewn stone Gothic building, 50x35 feet, with a tower 43 feet high—designed by Peter Mitchell, Esq.

"It stands . . . upon the spot where stood the first Church erected by Europeans in our country. On this lot was built a second Church edifice, and afterwards the Episcopal Palace, and then the British Colonial Government House, the ruins of the first building being used in the foundation of the last. This latter building was struck by lightning and much injured, was pulled down, and the materials used as before stated. The foundations, however, remained until this time, when they were dug up and used in the present church. The lot is vested by act of Congress in the Episcopal Congregation and is unalienable."⁶⁰

The new St. Augustine church was opened for public worship on the first Sunday in June, 1831. It was out of debt, although there was a need of an organ and of interior fittings. Mr. Henderson assured the Society that "when the Church edifice is completed, the congregation here . . . will be quite able to take care of themselves."⁶¹

The Reverend Benjamin Hutchins, of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, reported to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society from Pensacola, April 20th, 1830, that a very eligible site had been purchased for a church there, that plans for the building had been agreed on, and that cash to the amount of \$1200 had been subscribed. The Executive Committee of the Society voted to appropriate \$400 to that station. Mr. Hutchins went north, and busied himself collecting funds for the churches in Pensacola and Tallahassee. As a result, he raised \$560, all of which was to be applied to the Pensacola project. He then returned to Pensacola (1831); but his field included Tallahassee and nearby points, which were vacant because of the death of Mr. Gray.⁶²

On the 12th of December, 1831, the Reverend Seneca Greene Bragg, who had been ordained only three months before by Bishop William Meade of Virginia, left New York as a missionary of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society to Tallahassee. He arrived

⁵⁹*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 11, 1830 (Philadelphia, 1830), p. 17.*

⁶⁰*Periodical Papers of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society of the P. E. Church, Nov., 1831, p. 4.*

⁶¹*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, Oct., 1832, with report of the Board of Directors (Philadelphia, 1832), p. 40.*

⁶²*Proceeding of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 10, 11, 1831 (Philadelphia, 1831), p. 21.*

at his destination, January 2nd, 1832. A few weeks later (February 22nd), he reported that the wardens and vestrymen of St. John's parish, "encouraged by the continued liberality of the . . . Society, evinced in sending a Missionary the *third time*, to this distant station, have resolved to make a strenuous and persevering effort to erect a suitable edifice for public worship." A committee had been appointed to secure pledges; they expected to get aid from the north. They had agreed to pay their missionary an equal amount with the Society's stipend—\$250—with the understanding that he give half his time to Tallahassee, leaving him free to devote the remainder to the work in Leon and Jefferson counties.⁶³ Mr. Bragg closed his engagement with the Society in December, 1832, and accepted a call to Georgia.

In 1832, the Reverend Mr. Hutchins was able to inform the Society that "a neat, substantial and commodious brick building has been erected" in Pensacola for divine worship.⁶⁴ The following May, the Executive Committee appropriated \$300 towards the support of a clergyman there.⁶⁵ On July 22nd, 1833, the Reverend Ashbel Steele (died May 26th, 1869, at the age of seventy-six), former rector of St. John's Church, Saybrook, Connecticut, was engaged by the Society as missionary to Pensacola. He arrived November 7th; and was received "with great kindness and hospitality." He proceeded to liquidate the debt on the church property, and secured the undisputed possession of the new edifice. Thirty pews were rented; the rest were generally filled with seamen from the ships of war. There was a Sunday-school at Christ Church, and a branch Sunday-school at the Navy Yard (then located at Warrington). There was a department for the coloured persons also. "At the Navy yard, a room has been fitted up for a chapel by the officers and men stationed there, and Mr. Steele occasionally preaches there on Sunday afternoon to a congregation of from 100 to 150 persons."⁶⁶

The Reverend Mr. Henderson having left St. Augustine, the vestry applied to the Society for a missionary in May, 1833. On October 14th of that year, the Reverend David Brown, former rector of the church at Lockport, New York, was appointed to the post. He entered on his duties November 14th. He found his congregations "generally respectable for numbers, and often as large as can be conveniently accommodated."⁶⁷ During his stay, Trinity Church was

⁶³*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, with report of the Board of Directors, May 11, 1831 to Oct. 13, 1832 (Philadelphia, 1832), p. 40.*

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁶⁵*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, May 14-16, 1833 (Philadelphia, 1833); p. 34.*

⁶⁶*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 13-14, 1834 (Philadelphia, 1834), p. 20.*

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

consecrated, June 5th, 1834, by Bishop Nathaniel Bowen of South Carolina. Bishop Bowen administered confirmation to twenty in the town.⁶⁸

The Reverend Mr. Brown visited Jacksonville during his St. Augustine ministry; and on his first visit to Jacksonville, "a parish was organized in the village by the title of St. John's Church."⁶⁹ John L. Doggett and W. J. Mills were the first wardens. At an adjourned meeting, April 23rd, 1834, a committee was appointed to enquire concerning a suitable lot on which to build a church, and to obtain subscriptions for the same.⁷⁰

In the meantime, a parish had been coming into life at the southern extremity of Florida. The island of Key West "was settled in 1821 by gentlemen from Mobile. It had previously been only the resort of pirates, or of fishermen employed in supplying the market of Havana. The general government almost immediately made it the rendezvous of the squadron engaged in the suppression of piracy, and to the facilities afforded by its harbor, and other natural advantages, Commodore Porter, who had the command of the forces so employed, attributed to a considerable degree, the happy result which attended their exertions. In consequence of the great exposure to which the men were subjected, the want of many necessities, and almost all the comforts of life, and other causes, sickness made its appearance to a great extent among those on the station, and the prejudices which arose against the place, in consequence, materially affected its advancement."⁷¹ "Up to 1831, its inhabitants had neither manifested a desire, nor made an effort to obtain the establishment of a clergyman among them. The observance of the sabbath was unknown, the ordinances of the church generally disregarded, and immorality and vice were daily and openly visible. Cut off from all direct communication with their friends, in the various sections of our country, and subjected to privations which are met with in no other part of it, the inhabitants of this isolated spot seemed to consider themselves beyond the pale of the church, and absolved from the ties of morality and religion. About this period, however, from various causes, but principally from the acquisition of a few intelligent families, an improvement in the morals of the people became apparent; and Mr. W. A. Whitehead, then a resident here, availed himself of the auspicious movement to impress upon all re-

⁶⁸*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, 1835, and Report of the Board of Directors from May 13, 1834 to Aug. 20, 1835 (Philadelphia, 1835), p. 36.*

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

⁷⁰*Fairbanks: The Early Churchmen of Florida, 1889, p. 33.*

⁷¹*Report of the Rev. Robert Dyce to the Convention of the Diocese of Florida, 1839 (Journal of the Diocese of Florida, 1839).*

flecting men the advantages to be derived from the presence of a clergyman. The result of his efforts was a request from the municipal authorities, that they would adopt immediate measures to carry his recommendation into effect."⁷²

Mr. William Adeë Whitehead (1810-1884), of New Jersey, resided in Key West from 1828 to 1838. He was collector of the port of Key West, and mayor of the town. He founded a newspaper there; and it was in that island that he began his meteorological observations, which continued for forty years. Later he edited the archives of the state of New Jersey, and published several historical works. His son, Cortlandt Whitehead, became bishop of Pittsburgh. Key West was fortunate in having such a leader.

On the 5th of March, 1831, Mr. Whitehead called a public meeting, to adopt measures for obtaining the services of a clergyman. Several years before, services had been held occasionally by clergymen visiting the island, according to Fairbanks. As a result of this meeting, a letter was written to Bishop Henry Ustick Onderdonk (1789-1858) of Pennsylvania, asking that a suitable minister be sent. This appeal failed to secure the desired supply. In December, 1832, twenty citizens formed themselves into the "Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Paul's Church, Key West"; and obtained a charter, in 1833, from the territorial legislature. The Reverend Sanson K. Brunot, a deacon of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, was in Key West for his health; and had held services on Christmas day, 1832. It was after those services that the first step was taken towards the formation of a parish, "by those present signing an act of association to form a congregation, to be governed by the rules and canons of our church." Mr. Brunot's services were well attended, and he was generally liked; but his health was so bad that he was only able to officiate three or four times, and left the island in May, 1833, merely living to get home.⁷³

In January, 1834, a letter was received by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society from the wardens and vestrymen of St. Paul's, Key West, representing the inability of the inhabitants of that island to maintain a clergymen unaided. On the 10th of February, the Executive Committee appropriated \$200 for one year. On the 13th of April, the Reverend Alva Bennett, of the Diocese of New York, was appointed missionary there.⁷⁴ But Mr. Bennett was not pleased with the climate; and he returned north after a residence of about five

⁷²*Spirit of Missions, VIII. (1843), pp. 131-132 (quoting a letter from the wardens and vestrymen).*

⁷³*Report of the Rev. Robert Dyce to the Convention of the Diocese of Florida, 1839.*

⁷⁴*Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, May 13-14, 1834 (Philadelphia, 1834), p. 20.*

months. Yet, said the wardens and vestrymen, "the good effects of his residence among us became apparent. . . . The moral tone of the whole population was elevated." At that time, the entire population of Key West, including about forty slaves, did not exceed 350.⁷⁵ There was no place set apart for worship; services were held in the courthouse. In 1836, the Reverend Robert Dyce was sent to Key West; he took charge of the church on the 27th of August of that year.

During this time, the Reverend Mr. Steele was carrying on his labours effectively at Pensacola and its vicinity. Every Sunday afternoon, he ministered to the Navy Yard, in addition to his other labours. He superintended the course of instruction in the Pensacola Academy. During the summer of 1833, he set out on a visit to some settlements within twenty miles of Pensacola; on his return, he found several cases of yellow fever in the town. The number of sick increased to two hundred. Forty-seven died—eight of them were members of Christ Church. Steele felt that the effect was "to excite in many cases an attention to the things belonging to their peace."⁷⁶

On April 1st, 1834, the Reverend James Higginson Tyng, of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, was appointed missionary to Tallahassee. On May 16th, he arrived at his parish. Besides officiating in Tallahassee, he conducted services at Quincy, twenty miles away, and at the New Virginia settlement. He resigned shortly afterwards; but he was able to report that the churchmen of Tallahassee had obtained a valuable site for their church, and had raised six thousand dollars towards its erection.⁷⁷ He was succeeded by the Reverend Jonathan Loring Woart, who held his first Tallahassee service in the court-room, February 28th, 1836. "The congregation was small on account of a heavy rain. The next Sabbath I administered the Communion and the congregation was large and attentive. The services from that time were regular and well attended." The subscription paper commenced by the Reverend Mr. Tyng was renewed, and a large sum was raised. At that very time, however, "an Indian war was desolating (that) part of the country and heavy expenses were necessarily incurred by (the) citizens. . . . Alarms were constant. In the dead of night citizens were often aroused and guards were constantly kept around the town. Yet amid all this trouble, a contract was made with Mr. John Lavinus to erect a church of wood in the Grecian order, with a portico of four pillars."⁷⁸

⁷⁵*Spirit of Missions, VIII. (1843), pp. 131-132.*

⁷⁶*Proceedings of the Domestic & Foreign Missionary Society, 1835, and Report of the Board of Directors from May 13, 1834 to Aug. 20, 1835 (Philadelphia, 1835), p. 36.*

⁷⁷*Ibid., p. 37.*

⁷⁸*W. H. Carter: History of St. John's, Tallahassee (Florida Council Journal, 1888).*

In the fall or winter of 1835, two churches were organised by the Reverend Fitch Waterman Taylor, of the Diocese of Maryland, who was sojourning for a few months in Florida—Christ Church, Apalachicola, and St. Joseph's Church in the prosperous and progressive port of St. Joseph. Mr. Taylor held services in both places. During the legislative council of Florida (January-February, 1837), both churches were incorporated. After Mr. Taylor left, the two churches were left without a minister; but Mr. George Field began lay services in Apalachicola after his arrival (December, 1836).⁷⁹ The Reverend Charles Jones, of the Diocese of New York, arrived there in 1838; and there was "a general and strong disposition . . . to erect a church edifice." The Apalachicola Land Company conveyed to the vestry a lot for that purpose.⁸⁰

In 1837, Pensacola had become able to provide for the support of its own minister. The splendid services of the Reverend Mr. Steele were terminated there, when he removed to Indiana. The Reverend Charles Smith succeeded Mr. Brown at St. Augustine; in 1837, the Reverend Raymond A. Henderson returned to the scene of his former labours after an absence of five years. In May, 1837, St. John's Church, Tallahassee, was opened for divine service. By 1838, Key West could report that its church "continues to increase and flourish. . . . A large portion of the members of this community have in early life received their impressions of religion in worship among denominations of Christians other than those composing the Protestant Episcopal Church, and they are willing for general good to yield their personal predilections and have generously done so for the purpose of procuring a congregation."⁸¹ By that time, \$2130 had been subscribed for the building of a church.

With this background, the Diocese of Florida came into organic being; and the Protestant Episcopal Church in Florida assumed the mature organisation of a diocese seven years before the territory of Florida became a state. It has been necessary to trace the origin and development of the "charter parishes" with some detail; hereafter the narrative will move more rapidly.

III.

The "Primary Convention" of the Church in Florida met at St. John's Church, Tallahassee, January 17th, 1838—"this being the day and place agreed upon by previous correspondence, for a

⁷⁹*Proceedings of the Board of Missions, June 7, 1837 (New York, 1837), p. 61.*

⁸⁰*Journal of Convention, Diocese of Florida, 1838.*

⁸¹*Ibid.*

meeting of the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, living in Florida, to organize themselves into a Diocese, to be in union with the General Convention of said Church." The seven parishes which at that time took steps to form a diocese were Christ Church, Pensacola; Christ Church, Apalachicola; St. John's Church, Tallahassee; St. John's Church, Jacksonville; St. Joseph's Church, St. Joseph; St. Paul's Church, Key West; and Trinity Church, St. Augustine. (The names are listed in the order in which they appear in the Convention Journal). The clergy were the Reverend David Brown, "officiating at Jacksonville;" the Reverend Robert Dyce, rector of St. Paul's, Key West; the Reverend Raymond A. Henderson, rector of Trinity Church, St. Augustine; the Reverend Charles Jones, rector of Christ Church, Apalachicola; the Reverend Joseph H. Saunders, rector of Christ Church, Pensacola; and the Reverend J. Loring Woart, rector of St. John's Church, Tallahassee. All seven churches had lay delegates entitled to seats, with the exception of St. John's, Jacksonville. The lay representatives were:—

Pensacola:—John A. Cameron, Thomas M. Blount, Edwin L. Drake.

Key West:—James Webb.

Apalachicola:—George Field.

St. Joseph:—H. R. Wood.

Tallahassee:—Francis Eppes, Turbutt R. Betton, M. D., Isaac W. Mitchell, M. D., J. Edwin Stewart.

St. Augustine:—Joseph L. Smith, Thomas Douglas.

The only clergymen in attendance were the Reverend Messrs. Dyce, Saunders, and Woart. Evening Prayer was said by Mr. Saunders; the sermon was preached by Mr. Woart; and Mr. Dyce was elected the first chairman. Reports were received from the various churches; and a Committee on the State of the Church reported that six of the seven parishes were supplied with clergymen, that three church edifices had been erected—a brick one at Pensacola, one of stone at St. Augustine, and a wooden church at Tallahassee. Pensacola, Tallahassee, and St. Augustine were receiving no further aid from the General Missionary Society. Families at both Quincy and Marianna were desirous of services. It was decided that Bishop James Hervey Otey (1800-1863), of Tennessee, be invited to perform episcopal offices during his approaching visit to Florida. Resolutions were adopted, whereby the parishes united themselves into a diocese, and proceeded to obtain union with the General Convention. A constitution and rules of order were drawn up.⁸² On September 7th, 1838, at the General Convention which

⁸²*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1838.*

met in Philadelphia, the Committee of the House of Deputies recommended concurrence with the House of Bishops in the resolution, "That the Diocese of Florida be received into union with the General Convention."⁸³

Before the end of the year two disasters had occurred, which caused distress to the churchmen. On the 13th of June, 1838, the "Pulaski" sailed from Savannah, crowded with passengers. The Reverend Mr. Woart and his wife, and several prominent Tallahassee residents, were on board. At 11 P. M., the next day, the boiler exploded; and the vessel parted amidships. The passengers were precipitated into the sea. Mr. Woart and his wife secured themselves to a fragment of the hurricane deck; and on this frail support they were tossed about for several days. One by one all but a few of the passengers perished, overcome by exposure and exhaustion.⁸⁴ The other calamity was the destruction of the flourishing town of St. Joseph by hurricane, a short time after an epidemic of fever had wrought great havoc. There the Church passed out of existence.

In 1839, both St. Luke's, Marianna, and St. Paul's, Quincy, were admitted into union with the Convention. Bishop Jackson Kemper (1789-1870), the first bishop of the Episcopal Church ever to visit West Florida, had been in the territory the year before. On Ash Wednesday, 1838, he visited Pensacola, and consecrated the Church; he confirmed ten persons, and administered the Holy Communion to about thirty persons and preached seven times during his stay in that town. On the 7th of March, 1838, during Bishop Kemper's sojourn, the Church at Marianna was organized. Some twelve or fifteen families were reported; and the prospects seemed encouraging. The Reverend Jehu Jones entered on his duties at Quincy, November 19th, 1838; a Sunday-school was organised, and a subscription was started for building a church. Mr. Dyce stated at the 1839 Convention that the Key West vestry had agreed to erect "a neat and beautiful stone church, fifty feet long by thirty eight." "I am sowing the seed," he said; "and though it be upon a hard rock where there is no depth of earth, I am encouraged by the persuasion that there is a power which can soften that rock." The Reverend David Brown spoke of his struggles in Jacksonville. "The disturbed condition of the country for the last three years, with the demoralising influences of a state of war, have prevented the reasonable hopes for the success of the church." From St. Augustine came dire comments on the effect of the Indian war.

⁸³*Journal of the General Convention, P. E. Church, Philadelphia, 1838, p. 20.*

⁸⁴*History of St. John's Church, Tallahassee, by Carter (Appendix to Florida Council Journal, 1888), p. 10.*

"The evils attendant upon war are seriously felt by our community, and our present sufferings are in no degree mitigated by the prospect of the future, which is gloomy in the extreme."

Some idea of the difficulties which surrounded the infant Diocese may be suggested by the following incident. During the Convention (January 20th, 1839), the rector of St. John's, Tallahassee, (the Reverend Francis P. Lee) baptized a baby, about whom this story was recorded:—

"The circumstances of the murder of Mr. Baker, and a part of his family last summer, about thirty miles east from Tallahassee, by the Indians, as related by a gentleman who visited the place the next morning, are these:—The family consisted of nine persons,—the old man, his wife and two grandchildren . . . and five others. While they were at supper one evening, the Indians came to the house and fired on them through the window, killing Mrs. Baker as she sat at the table. Mr. Baker sprang to the assistance of his wife, and the others at the table made their escape at the opposite door. The next morning when the neighbors visited the place, they found the house burnt, and the body of Mrs. Baker lying scalped a little way off, and the tracks of Mr. Baker, as if running in the direction of a small patch of cane near to where the house stood. Pursuing them, they found his body lying just within the cane, with the two grand children closely grasped, one under each arm, all apparently dead. On a closer examination, it was discovered that the younger boy, about two years old, was alive; but he kept his head buried in the bosom of his dead grand father, and was, with difficulty, extricated from the firm grasp of his arm. . . . A ball had passed entirely through the body of the old man, and through the head of the older boy. . . . The little boy was unhurt, save a slight wound in the arm, by a sharp instrument, which was doubtlessly inflicted as the old man made his escape from the house with the children in his arms. . . . The little boy thus providentially saved, was adopted by the Rev. R. B. Ker of this city, and is the same child baptized."

Numerous instances of murders by the Indians in the last three years might be recorded. Nevertheless the Church was moving forward. \$7500 had been subscribed for a new church at Apalachicola, and the building was in progress on land donated by the Apalachicola Land Company.⁸⁵

On the 20th of September, 1840, the Reverend David Brown, recently appointed missionary at Jacksonville, informed the Board of

⁸⁵*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1839.*

Missions that "the Church in Florida, as well as the country, seems doomed to disaster and destruction. Casting my eyes on the Journal of the Diocese of 1838, I find that death, disease, and removal have swept from his place and duties every clergyman then comprising the clergy of Florida, myself excepted,—one half of the whole number gone to their account!"⁸⁶ Two months later, he wrote:—

"In common with the almost entire population, myself and family have been visited with the protracted sickness. During the time of my own sickness, public services could have been but very partially attended, on account of the general prevailing illness; but I feel it to have been a severe Providence, not to be able to visit the sick and the dying."⁸⁷

March 22nd, 1841, Mr. Brown reported having officiated as his "still impaired health has permitted." He had visited Palatka the first Sunday in January, on invitation; "but a violent relapse of my disease, precluded all possibility of exertion in the blessed cause of the Church in that place."⁸⁸ After nine months (December 22nd, 1841), Mr. Brown informed the Board of Missions that his services at Jacksonville were well attended. He hoped "that the people generally are learning to distinguish more rationally between our apostolic and venerable Church, with her beautiful and seasonable services."

"Yet impoverished, distressed, and desolated as the country is, it may be long ere the services and privileges of our Church can be enjoyed by this community independently of foreign aid. Poor Florida, politically and ecclesiastically, all but despised, must learn to suffer in silence and uncared for by the more prosperous and happy, bury her murdered children in the wilds of the savage haunt, without even the ordinary consolations of religion of Him who came to preach the Gospel to the poor, and to bind up the broken-hearted."⁸⁹

In June, 1840, the Reverend Francis P. Lee of Tallahassee visited the town of Monticello, some twenty miles eastward; he held services four times, administered the Holy Communion to about thirty, and was present at the organization of a church. A young Englishman, Henry Elwell—afterwards ordained—acted as lay reader there. A lot of ground was offered to the vestry; and a subscription for a building was started. By 1841, the Quincy Church was nearly finished. "Our parish labors under inconveniences incidental to all growing towns in

⁸⁶*Spirit of Missions, Vol. VI. (1841), p. 10.*

⁸⁷*Ibid., p. 99.*

⁸⁸*Ibid., p. 168.*

⁸⁹*Spirit of Missions, Vol. VII. (1842), p. 71.*

new countries," said the Reverend J. Glancy Jones; "but our faith is strong, our ground is thus far well-secured, and if nothing more is accomplished, a nucleus is formed around which posterity may rally their energies for the promotion of good, and for the firm establishment of the Church."⁹⁰

It was reported to the Board of Missions, April 17th, 1841, that the Church at Key West had been finished. It was capable of holding two hundred and fifty people. The pews were all sold, except four, which were reserved as free seats. From the beginning it was realized that the building was inadequate in size, "inasmuch as it is the only place of worship on the Key. It is, however, our misfortune rather than our fault; our means not allowing us to undertake a larger building."⁹¹ December 28th, 1841, the Reverend Francis Huger Rutledge, who had taken charge of the work at St. Augustine, notified the Board that the Church there had been completed. "As to temporalities, we have not whereof to boast; the resources of this people being greatly exhausted by the protracted Indian war." A Sunday-school for servants had been established in St. Augustine, and seats accommodating sixty had been provided. "To the colored members of the Episcopal Church in Charleston, S. C., we are chiefly indebted for the amount (\$127.75) by which this arrangement has been made."⁹² When Mr. Rutledge began his ministry at St. Augustine (March, 1840), the congregation was very small, and little apparent interest was given to spiritual concerns. "The church edifice remained unfinished—its interior aspect presenting little the appearance of a temple reared in the honour of Jehovah, and that had once been solemnly consecrated 'the house of prayer.' " But he had secured help from a few liberal friends outside the territory and had enlisted the aid of the ladies.

On the 14th of February, 1841, Bishop Otey of Tennessee consecrated Trinity Church, Apalachicola. The day was cold and windy; "nevertheless," said the Bishop, "the house was pretty nearly filled with an orderly and apparently devout congregation, before whom, with the rites and solemnities prescribed, I consecrated Trinity Church, to the worship of Almighty God, according to the order of the Protestant Episcopal Church." February 18th, he visited Quincy—"a quiet and beautiful village in the interior." On the 21st, he consecrated St. Paul's Church in that town. He held services and confirmations in Tallahassee and Monticello during his stay. The following summer, Apalachicola, "in common with the rest of the Territory," was severely scourged by fever. "Of those who had not left the city, a hundred died."

⁹⁰*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1841.*

⁹¹*Spirit of Missions, Vol. VI. (1841), p. 168.*

⁹²*Spirit of Missions, Vol. VII. (1842), p. 71; Ibid., Appendix Aa., p. xvi.*

Commenting on the disaster, the rector (the Reverend Abram Bloomer Hart) said:—

“This dreadful visitation has, we trust, made considerable impressions on the hearts of those who were spared and survive. God grant that they may prove indelible, and that the remembrance of mercy in the midst of judgment may lead alarm to piety, and reflection to devotion.”⁹³

Bishop Christopher Edwards Gadsden, of South Carolina, visited Jacksonville on the Fourth Sunday after Easter, 1842, and confirmed eleven individuals. These were the first confirmations held in that town. After making a trip to St. Augustine, Bishop Gadsden passed through Jacksonville; and on the 24th of April, he laid the cornerstone of the first St. John's Church. The structure was soon ready for occupancy, although it was not completed until 1851.⁹⁴

Another bishop who found time to encourage the struggling Church of Florida by his presence was the noble Stephen Elliott of Georgia (1806-1866), who visited the diocese in 1843, and did much to revive the drooping Church. The Convention of 1844 resolved to invite Bishop Elliott to take the Diocese of Florida under his episcopal supervision; and for awhile that earnest, sincere man assumed the responsibility of the struggling new diocese in addition to his own vast and difficult field. By 1844, the Key West congregation were able to report “a fine stone built,” with \$800 still due; but their faithful rector, Mr. Dyce, had passed away. The Committee on the State of the Church observed “the destitution of the Church in Middle Florida.” Marianna had never been able to procure even the services of a missionary; Quincy had been without a shepherd for three years; Tallahassee had been vacant fifteen months.⁹⁵

When Francis Huger Rutledge became rector of Tallahassee (1845), the parish “was greatly agitated and torn by dissensions. These invaded and spread their baleful influences over the congregation. . . . Most persons by action or sympathy had formed off to one side or the other, and few were indifferent or neutral. . . . Personal piety became less deep and general.” The material interests of the parish had suffered by the division. A large debt was due the former rector; but Mr. Rutledge's first effort was towards liquidating that obligation. He then turned to the repair and improvement of the Church.⁹⁶ Beside his local work, he visited Monticello, a settlement in

⁹³*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1842.*

⁹⁴*Spirit of Missions, Vol. VII. (1842), p. 245; Centennial History of St. John's Parish, Jacksonville, 1934, p. 14.*

⁹⁵*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1844.*

⁹⁶*Memorial Sermon preached by the Rev. J. J. Scott, S. T. D., May 8, 1867.*

the vicinity of Marion Cross Roads, and Bell Air (which was the retreat for the summer of several Tallahassee families). On three occasions, his first year, he catechised about sixty negro children on the plantation of Colonel James Gadsden and Octavius H. Gadsden, Esq. "The accuracy with which the several chants were sung and answers returned to the questions proposed on the Church Catechism were truly remarkable, and reflect much credit on the worthy gentleman who has devoted himself to this most humane and useful charity."⁹⁷

Bishop Elliott presided over the diocesan Convention of 1846—held in Tallahassee. In the past year, Florida had been admitted as a state; and the theme of the Bishop's address was the Church's opportunity to keep pace with the movement forward. "It behooves us to be active in our efforts to plant the Church wherever circumstances may seem to open the door for our services. Our fault as a Church has been to enter the field too late, and to permit the population to be absorbed into other Christian bodies, to our entire exclusion." With that instinct for recognising the path of future development which characterised his episcopacy in Georgia, Bishop Elliott suggested planting a missionary near Fort King—the site of Ocala—"who should minister to the settlers as they flow into the rich lands of the county of Alachua." He felt that Cedar Keys, at the mouth of the Suwanee River, was destined "to grow into importance as a commercial depot."

Bishop Elliott's oversight of the Florida Church was timely; just before he accepted the responsibility, the new diocese had reached its nadir. In August, 1845, there were only two clergymen—one a deacon—in active parochial service. Rutledge, who had gone back to his native state, had not taken charge of Tallahassee. A young deacon, John Freeman Young—afterwards Bishop of Florida, had begun his ministry at St. John's, Jacksonville, May 23rd, 1845, just a month after his ordination by the bishop of Rhode Island. During the year 1845, Bishop Gadsden of South Carolina had visited the neighbourhood of Monticello (where members of his family were an active influence in planting the Church), and had baptized 48 children at the Union Meeting House at Marion Cross Roads. Bishop Nicholas Hamner Cobbs of Alabama confirmed thirty-two persons at Pensacola. In 1846, the new church at Key West was completely destroyed by a hurricane. In spite of reverses, and thanks to Doctor Elliott and other friendly bishops, brighter days began to dawn; in December, 1846, there were four priests and two deacons in the field.⁹⁸

But brighter days yielded to the shadows. The Convention of 1847 was scheduled to meet on the 11th of December. Only one clergy-

⁹⁷*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1846.*

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

man answered the roll-call; since no convention could open, according to canon, without the presence of at least two ministers, it was resolved to adjourn from day to day until the provisional bishop or another clergyman might arrive. A week later, it was possible to proceed. Then it was noted that Bishop Elliott was unable to give the necessary oversight to the Diocese, with the heavy demands exacted by his own proper jurisdiction; and he was exonerated from further responsibility, with thanks. The Standing Committee received authority to invite the services of the bishops of contiguous dioceses as often as expedient. It was reported "that the prospects of the Church are little or no better than they were at the last meeting of the Convention." Yet there were undeniable signs of growth. The new rector of St. Paul's, Key West—Charles Coffin Adams—had been away on a leave of absence, during which he collected \$3300 towards rebuilding the church. The Reverend John Jackson Scott, then stationed at Quincy as general missionary, had visited one plantation in Leon County several times and had baptized twenty coloured children; he had ministered at Newport (a health resort five miles from St. Mark's, on the St. Mark's River), and ten times at Mr. Gadsden's chapel near Monticello and at Marion Cross Roads. Mr. Scott reported:—

"The attendance has been good at both places. At the chapel, the congregation is mostly made up of servants. To the praise of their owners, I may state that they have not only set apart this building for religious purposes, but that on each Lord's day the servants are assembled and carefully instructed."

Mr. Scott also visited the Monticello congregation; their church was still unfinished. He held services at the United States Arsenal at Mount Vernon. At Marianna, where he made five visits, he found "an interesting and encouraging field of labor." There a church had been organized—St. Luke's; and Mr. Scott called the vestry together. They agreed, with several gentlemen from Campbellton (sixteen miles north), to contribute \$500 towards the support of a missionary.

The Pensacola rector, Charles Foote Peake, had officiated in Demopolis, Burton Hill, and Mobile, Alabama; he had held services in the nearby Navy Yard, at Milton, and even as far east as Marianna. A new parish, St. Thomas's, Blackwater, had been organized near Pensacola. The city had been visited by an epidemic; and its effects had been to arouse the people to "a moral point of view."

That the clergymen at work in an isolated and sparsely settled field had many discouragements is evinced by the statement of the Reverend Mr. Adams of Key West:—

"Many of our brethren think the days of martyrdom have gone by, and they have to those who live at ease on comfortable salaries. But the American Church at this day and this very hour, has her champions, who, without the eclat, are suffering the pangs, of martyrdom. All along our Southern and Western frontier in sickly districts they yearly languish and expire. They scarcely murmur, but every year we read the names of those who die at their posts."⁹⁹

The Committee on the State of the Church remarked in 1848, on "the acephalous condition of the Diocese, the vast area which it covers, and the wide distance between the Parishes which are regularly supplied with clergymen, being from two to five hundred miles, which severs them from intercourse and consultation with one another, precludes all hope of any great prosperity for the Church in general, until this state of things shall be altered. Florida is among the largest of the Dioceses of the Church in America, and smallest in the number of its clergy."¹⁰⁰

The next diocesan convention was convened December 29th, 1849; but it was adjourned till the 5th of January, when a second clergyman arrived. These two priests (Doctor Scott and Mr. Rutledge) realised that steps must be taken to secure a resident bishop, in order to save the Church in Florida. A committee was, therefore, appointed to solicit contributions from the different parts of the diocese, in addition to a proposed annual assessment; and it was agreed that the bishop should be allowed to officiate as rector of one of the principal churches, so as to assure him a living. The number of communicants of the Church was reported as 264; the contributions had amounted to \$3,156.41 during 1849, but there had been no confirmations during the entire year. Frequent changes had occurred among the clergymen, because of inadequate support and "an erroneous opinion of the unhealthiness of the climate, which induces some to remain here in the winter, and abandon their posts in the summer, when their services are required perhaps more than at any other season. As the effect of this, of eight clergymen canonically connected with the Diocese, at this time, only three are entitled to vote in the primary election for a Bishop, and even this small number is larger than we have sometimes had." (Report of the Committee on the State of the Church.)¹⁰¹

The 13th annual Convention met in Tallahassee, January 8th, 1851. Rutledge of Tallahassee presided. The following clergy were also in attendance:—Doctor Scott (Pensacola), James S. Greene (St. Luke's,

⁹⁹*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1847.*

¹⁰⁰*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1848.*

¹⁰¹*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1850.*

Marianna, and missionary), Benjamin Wright (St. Augustine, and missionary), and William Trebell Saunders (Apalachicola). St. John's, Warrington, was admitted as a parish. Mr. George R. Fairbanks, lay delegate from St. Augustine, reported in behalf of the committee on the fund for an episcopate, that he had visited the congregations of Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Tallahassee, and had secured subscriptions; he had addressed circular letters to other parishes; and he had found a warm interest in the election of a bishop. On the second day, Thursday, January 9th, Francis Huger Rutledge was unanimously elected first Bishop of Florida. Before the election the members of the Convention "went into silent prayer for a short time. After which, the two orders separated. After an interval, the Rev. Mr. Scott, from the order of the Clergy, announced that they had agreed to nominate and appoint the Rev. Francis Huger Rutledge, D. D., as Bishop of the Diocese of Florida. Whereupon, a balloting was had by the Lay order, which resulted in the unanimous election of Dr. Rutledge." On the following day, Doctor Rutledge accepted. In his letter, he said:—

"Were I influenced by personal considerations alone, with my experience of the difficulties and trials of the Christian Ministry, and in view of the weightier responsibilities attaching to the high and sacred office of a Bishop in the Church of God, I should unhesitatingly decline the appointment, under a sense of my utter insufficiency. But when I reflect how much the Diocese has already suffered, for want of a complete Ecclesiastical organization, and think of the great responsibility I should incur by refusing to occupy the position which, under the providence of God, you have assigned me, I feel constrained (under a conviction of duty to God and to his Church) to accede to your wishes."

There is no doubt of the sincerity of this utterance. The office of bishop in the frontier state of Florida involved little of worldly reward or recognition, but much hard work and anxiety. The parishes were all feeble, and still compelled to struggle against the most adverse circumstances. The total number of communicants did not reach more than 260.¹⁰²

Bishop Rutledge was consecrated in Augusta, Georgia, October 15th, 1851. The bishops of South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama laid their hands on his head. In his first episcopal address, January 16th, 1852, he spoke of the obstacle which stood in the Church's path. Florida's wide extent was contrasted with the "very small portion . . . as yet occupied as Missionary ground." He dwelt on "the amount of ignorance, irreligion, error and prejudice to be combated and over-

¹⁰²*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1851.*

come—the scattered condition of the population, and the difficulty of gaining access to many of the settlements.”

“How formidable is the number of those opposed to our peculiar institutions leagued in hostile array against us, obstructing our usefulness, and driving us to personal defence, when we should be engaged against that common enemy.”

He reminded his hearers to have courage. He submitted several practical suggestions for strengthening and extending the Church; and recommended organizing a society for the distribution of books and tracts, assisting the youths to enter the ministry, and employing lay readers to fill the vacant places.

At the 1852 Convention, it was reported that the Church at Key West had been consecrated in January, 1851, by Bishop Gadsden of South Carolina. It was suggested that Ocala be supplied with the ministrations of the Church. St. John's, Jacksonville, under the Reverend William Davis Harlow, was “quite finished.” An organ had been ordered, and bell donated. The rector had visited St. Mary's, Georgia; Ocala, in Marion County, and Pilatka (*sic*), in Putnam County. “At Ocala, an encouraging field is open for the Church, and it is greatly to be hoped that it may soon be supplied with a missionary.” The Reverend Mr. Saunders, of Apalachicola, recounted the wrecking of his Church “by a gale of the most terrific violence, which, in its general ravages, crushed in the doors and windows . . . and greatly damaged the interior. Had the wind have continued in full force a short time longer, the building would, in all likelihood, have been prostrated to the ground.” The Reverend Mr. Adams of Key West said that he had held services once “at Tortugas, an island sixty miles west; and once at Carysford Reef, one hundred miles northeast from Key West.” This statement is of particular interest, because of the military significance of Dry Tortugas, and because it points to services on an isolated spot several miles east of the peninsula of Florida long before the southern mainland attracted any attention.¹⁰³

Bishop Rutledge consecrated St. John's Church, Jacksonville, April 22nd, 1852. On the 13th of May, he visited Key West, and confirmed eighteen. On the 20th of July, canonical notice was received of the formation of a new parish at Ocala, to be known as Grace Church. Another disastrous storm struck Apalachicola, October 9th, and almost completely destroyed the church, which had been just recently repaired at heavy cost. “With a spirit deserving the highest praise, the members design restoring all things again.” The Bishop infused new life

¹⁰³*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1852.*

into the Diocese from the outset of his episcopate. Although he remained rector of St. John's, Tallahassee, he had an assistant in the Reverend Pierre Teller Babbitt.¹⁰⁴

Bishop Rutledge's first visit to Ocala was on the 11th and 12th of May, 1854. He officiated in the Methodist Church three times, administered the Holy Communion, and confirmed four. On the 12th of December, 1853, a congregation had been organized at Palatka, by the Rev. Henry Benjamin Whipple (afterwards Bishop of Minnesota); and services were held in the court-house. Mr. Whipple, who was spending the winter in St. Augustine, made four visits to Palatka; and organized a parish there by the name of St. Mark's. Bishop Rutledge visited Palatka, March 15th, 1854. The missionary at Ocala and vicinity, the Reverend Archibald Falconer Gould, visited Newnansville, Wuincy, and other places; and held a burial at Fort King. During the year, the Reverend David Dubois Flower accepted a call to the rectorship of Christ Church, Pensacola. After ten weeks' service, he died of yellow fever. The congregation of St. Luke's, Marianna, had been building "a neat edifice of stone," capable of seating one hundred and fifty. 1854 was a year of activity—progress and loss; but the Bishop was able to say in December that every parish was provided with stated ministerial services, "while in a temporal point of view the welfare of not one of them, it is believed, has declined."¹⁰⁵

On the 11th of May, 1855, Bishop Rutledge visited the plantation of A. DuPont, Esq., on the Matanzas River, twenty miles from St. Augustine; and confirmed 22 negroes, besides administering the Holy Communion, "in which both the Master and the Slave together devoutly participated." In that year, services were held by Doctor Scott at Milton, in Santa Rosa County, once a month; the court-house was used for worship.¹⁰⁶ About this time, the congregation of St. Philip's, Waukeenah—in Jefferson County, south of Monticello—is mentioned by name. It will be recalled that there was work in this vicinity several years before the Diocese sprang into corporate existence. The progress was slow in Monticello, however; in 1857, the Reverend William Esten Eppes reported that "the Church makes no visible progress in Monticello. . . . The Church building is still incomplete, and perhaps will long remain so." A Sunday-school has been started in a factory about a mile from town.

In the summer of 1857, the Reverend William White Bours, who had been rector of St. John's, Jacksonville, two years, died of yellow fever. He was in the north when the epidemic broke out; and when

¹⁰⁴*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1853.*

¹⁰⁵*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1854.*

¹⁰⁶*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1855.*

news reached him that sickness and death were among his flock, he hurried back. "Night and day found him by the bedside of the sick and dying, administering to them the consolation of religion; and many not of his congregation solicited his visits, and he visited all, without regard to class, denomination, or color." At length he caught the fever, and died in about six days.¹⁰⁷

Another parish was added in 1858—St. Peters, Fernandina. Alligator—now Lake City—was also regarded as a promising field. The Reverend Owen P. Thackara, of St. Augustine, visited both places. On the 8th of November, the cornerstone of the Fernandina Church was laid by Bishop Rutledge, on land donated by the Florida Railroad Company. Besides his services at Monticello and Waukeenah, the Reverend Mr. Eppes conducted services on the Aucilla River "every other Sunday, not as regular as they might be, for want of a certainty as to a place of meeting. In the morning, service and sermon for the whites; in the afternoon and at night for the servants. . . . We have no separate organization here, yet distinct missionary work. Congregations of whites quite small, of servants large and attentive."

"On one plantation, where I held regular services every two weeks, the servants are learning to use heartily the responsive portions of our beautiful service, and are eager for instruction. The fact is, both here and at Waukeenah, there is great work and an open field for a Church minister who should *devote* himself to the *negroes*."

On the 4th of July, 1858, Bishop Rutledge attended a meeting of the Trustees of the University of the South, at Beersheba Springs, Tennessee, "when by unanimous consent the Sewanee Mountain was reaffirmed as the site for the erection of the University buildings." For some time the plans for the institution had been assuming more definite shape.¹⁰⁸

On the 20th of February, 1859, the Bishop visited Lake City, and preached in the Methodist house of worship. He visited Church families there, and confirmed three. On the 4th of March, he consecrated St. Peter's Chapel, at Fernandina.¹⁰⁹ During the following year, a parish was organized at Orange Lake, and Grace Church, Ocala, was revived after a cessation of activities. The Reverend James W. Capen, of western New York, was engaged as a missionary at Gainesville, Orange Lake, and Ocala; on account of ill health, he was soon compelled to resign his mission.

¹⁰⁷*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1857.*

¹⁰⁸*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1858.*

¹⁰⁹*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1860.*

"The Communicants at Orange Lake were so scattered that I could at no time feel confident enough of the attendance, at any appointed time, of a sufficient number to render it proper to give notice of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

St. John's Church, Warrington, was completed in 1860 and ready for consecration. Doctor Scott, who officiated there, said that the Church "stands in the midst of a military encampment, and the people who have usually worshipped in it have for the most part removed up to Pensacola or elsewhere. The church is in an exposed situation; and while its elevated cross attests its true character, in the event of an action with Fort Pickens, it must suffer." At the 1861 Convention, which assembled soon after the beginning of the War Between the States, the Diocese was found to be in the most flourishing state in its history. During the year, there had been 132 baptisms; 25 confirmations; 34 marriages; 64 burials. The communicants numbered 522; there were 76 Sunday-school teachers, and 680 pupils. The resident clergymen numbered twelve. Besides stipends, the contributions reached \$11,-298.92. The organization of the Diocese under the direct supervision of Bishop Rutledge had justified itself in tangible results. The war, alas, was to cripple the Church's progress, and bring about sad reverses.¹¹⁰

No Convention was held in 1862. When the delegates assembled in Tallahassee, December 16th, 1863, the Committee on the State of the Church reported in favour of adopting the Constitution and Canons of the Church in the Confederate States and of so altering the Constitution and Canons of this Church as to conform thereto. Although a distracted condition prevailed, there was considerable activity in the different congregations. On May 17th, 1863, the building at Marianna, erected during the ministry of the Reverend William D. Scull, was consecrated; the Reverend Mr. Saunders had charge of the associated parishes of Apalachicola and Marianna.

Mr. Scull had taken charge of Marianna in 1859. St. Luke's had been vacant for about five years, and had even ceased to exist as a regular congregation. The people were "but imperfectly acquainted with the genius and the distinctive features of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and had little inclination to know them. The Church was regarded as a sect amongst other sects."

"I took charge of St. Luke's Church fully under the impression that I would be permitted to do the Church's work in her own way, and be regularly paid. In these respects, I regret to say, I have been sadly disappointed. There have been

¹¹⁰*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1861.*

times when my family has suffered for the veriest necessities of life. . . . When I took charge of this congregation, its church edifice was unsafe for use. In a short time it had to be abandoned. It was resolved to build a new church. At request, I sent to Baltimore, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, for plans. These were submitted to the building committee, which, for four months, failed to act. A new one was appointed, to which, at its request, my name was added. . . . Four-fifths of the labor of the committee now fell upon my shoulders."

Mr. Scull collected nearly \$4000. He hoped to see "a good parsonage and another church edifice in the country. And all this, in a few years, might have been effected, had the ladies of the place been less officious in church matters, and received as their spiritual guide him who, in the providence of God, as such, had been placed over them."

In resigning from Marianna, Mr. Scull said:—

"I leave, therefore, a Parish which has never retained a clergyman (before the present one,) longer than a year—which, in unqualified terms, cannot speak well of any it had—which has no respect for the vows of a clergyman, the canons of the Church, or the rubrics of the prayer book, when they conflict with their sectarian proclivities—a Parish, which has not morality enough to rise above a subjective religion. I leave, sir, without a solitary regret."

St. John's, Warrington, suffered severely from the war. In the first bombardment, the Church edifice was struck by a shell; the steeple took fire and was entirely consumed. The Church, the furniture, and a large Sunday-school library were destroyed. Doctor Scott gave a pathetic account of the loss.¹¹¹

"The Church was built gradually through a series of years, at considerable expense, in proportion to the size and character of the congregation, and after much toil and anxiety, and when just completed and reported to the Bishop as being ready for consecration, in a brief space all that our cruel enemy left us of this house we had built for the good of man and the glory of our God was a heap of ashes.

"At the evacuation by the Confederate army the congregation also removed, and are now scattered abroad, mostly in South Alabama, where I visit them and minister to them."

While the Confederate army occupied the city of Pensacola, Doctor Scott visited the hospital daily; at the request of General Bragg, he officiated every Sunday afternoon at headquarters. When the city was evacuated, he removed to Montgomery, Alabama; from there he

¹¹¹*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1863.*

kept up pastoral intercourse with a large number of his parishioners, who had established themselves temporarily in Montgomery and the villages on the Alabama and Florida Railroad. The calamities of war fell heavily upon Christ Church. At the evacuation, only two families of the Pensacola congregation remained; and they went over to the Union side. The Church was at first used as barracks for the United States soldiers; afterwards a Union chaplain, in Church orders, held services there. The school-house of the parish and the rector's private residence were both destroyed by fire.

Removed from the immediate scene of conflict, the Reverend Mr. Thackara could report that a lay chapel was being erected near the Aucilla, in the neighbourhood of Monticello. "The servants on four plantations . . . are regularly instructed once a month. The servants on these plantations seem interested in the services, and having been taught the prayers, the creed, the chants, and some of the selections of the psalms, join heartily in the responses. The adults amongst them who have been baptized, were required to know the Creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the responses in the baptismal service."¹¹²

All the coast cities and towns were occupied by the United States forces during the War; and the condition of the parishes was lamentable. The majority of churchmen fled into the interior. The Church at Jacksonville was burned by Federal troops evacuating after the third Federal occupation. Doctor Alfred Walton, medical officer of the Eighth Maine Regiment, referred to the burning of the first St. John's Church in his diary:—

"Sunday, March 29, 1863. Before we were ready to embark the boys began to set fire to the city and soon we had to hurry up for the smoke was getting rather uncomfortable. On my way down (to the wharf) I ran into St. John's Church, and groping through the smoke and fire, I took from the altar a large gilt-bound prayer book with the inscription on the cover, 'St. John's Episcopal Church, Jacksonville.'"¹¹³

In September, 1864, St. Luke's Church, Marianna—recently consecrated—was burned, when that town was captured by the United States troops.

On the 22nd of February, 1866, the Council of the Diocese convened at Tallahassee. (The name "Council" replaced that of "Convention" with the organization of the Church in the Confederate States.) The Diocese, eager for peace and harmony, decided to withdraw from

¹¹²*Diocese of Florida: Convention Journal, 1863.*

¹¹³*T. Frederick Davis: History of Jacksonville, Fla., p. 132.*

union with the Church of the Confederacy, and acceded to the Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. An interesting report was submitted by the Reverend Mr. Scull, who, besides teaching and preaching to the white people, had laboured diligently with the negroes.

"The colored man's ignorance is proverbial, so is his fanaticism. There is also in him . . . a disposition to avoid intercourse with the white man. He prefers receiving instruction from men of his own color. Could he, situated as he is, accomplish this, I hesitate not to affirm, his semi-barbarism would be quickly attained. In my judgment, his emancipation came upon him before he was ready for it. Thus, in the providence of God, a great work presents itself to us, and we must grapple with it. . . . I can heartily say that the colored man has my sympathy, that his condition commands it, and that I am anxiously solicitous to make him useful to himself and his employer. To effect this, kind feelings between him and the white man are essentially necessary."¹¹⁴

In July, 1866, Mr. Scull, as missionary to the negroes of Leon and Gadsden counties, visited the north to obtain funds for a school for these people. In Washington, he secured eight hundred dollars. He also received the grant of a building at Midway (in Gadsden County, southeast of Quincy), which had been built as a Confederate hospital. In a short time, he had 117 negro pupils on his roll. He also organized a congregation among them.

The close of the War found the people impoverished, and somewhat dejected, but full of zeal for the Church. Apalachicola reported that the parish had "greatly declined from its former state of prosperity. The effects of the War are severely felt, and the usual trade of the city has been much diminished." The health of the Bishop had been sadly shattered, and he had become well-nigh helpless. The Reverend Mr. Thackara was a guiding spirit in the rebuilding of the Church in the eastern part of the state. Through his self-sacrificing efforts, the parishes of St. Augustine and Jacksonville were reorganised and prepared for new life. Services were resumed at Palatka, Orange Springs, Ocala, and Gainesville, by the Reverend James Hamilton Quinby, who took charge of Trinity Church, St. Augustine, in March, 1866. At Aucilla (fifteen miles east of Monticello), services were held on a plantation at night for the freedmen, "who attended well and manifested decided interest in the responsive portions." Mr. Eppes was the missionary in charge of this work; he visited Madison once a month. Services had been held there at infrequent intervals for several years.

¹¹⁴*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1866.*

On the 6th of November, 1866, Bishop Rutledge passed away. At the diocesan Council, May 7th, 1867, Doctor Scott of Pensacola paid a beautiful tribute to his piety, patience, industry, benevolence, and foresight.

"He aided any designs he recommended, often by advancing money, and always by liberal contributions. Few knew how profuse he was in benefactions to the poor and offerings to the Church, or of the aid he afforded clergy and young men preparing for the sacred ministry. . . . On account of his great modesty and shrinking manner, his intellectual character and ability has been generally under-estimated. His ability, however, was equal to his station in the Church. . . . Many of his parochial sermons, his lectures on the Apostles' Creed, and the only charge he gave his clergy . . . were a manifestation of real power. . . . He spoke under deep conviction of the importance of his message."

At the 1867 Council, the Reverend John Freeman Young was elected Bishop of Florida. Doctor Scott had received a majority of the clerical order; but the laymen had failed to ratify the nomination.¹¹⁵

The new Bishop was born in Pittston, Maine, October 30th, 1820. He studied at Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Connecticut, and at the Virginia Theological Seminary. After his graduation (1845), he served St. John's, Jacksonville, for about two and one-half years. He resigned in 1847; and after serving as a missionary in Texas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, he became assistant minister in Trinity Church, New York. On the 25th of July, 1867, he was consecrated Bishop at Trinity, New York. His consecrators were the venerable John Henry Hopkins of Vermont (1792-1868), the Presiding Bishop of the Church, and the man who had ignored all differences between the northern and southern elements in the first General Convention after the War; John Payne (1815-1874), first missionary Bishop to Africa; Alexander Gregg (1819-1893), first Bishop of Texas; William Henry Odenheimer (1817-1879), third Bishop of New Jersey; Richard Hooker Wilmer (1816-1900), second Bishop of Alabama—the only Bishop consecrated by the Church of the Confederate States; and George David Cummins (1822-1876), who afterwards left the communion and became a founder of the Reformed Episcopal Church.¹¹⁶

Notwithstanding handicaps and discouragements, the years that followed the War Between the States were marked by considerable expansion in the scope of the Church's activities. The reports submitted at the Convention—or rather, Council—at Tallahassee, in February,

¹¹⁵*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1867.*

¹¹⁶*E. L. Pennington: Some Experiences of Bishop Young (Florida Historical Society Quarterly, XV., pp. 35-36).*

1869, showed not only progress towards recovery but a reaching out into unexplored territory. The Reverend Edward McClure was at work as missionary on the St. John's River from Dunn's Lake (Crescent Lake) to the mouth of the stream. The Reverend John Baker was holding services at Mandarin—a new and pleasant field. Milwood had been added to Mr. Quinby's group of missions. The Reverend B. F. Dunkin was using the court-house at Gainesville for services; he was also making visits to Cedar Keys, Walde, and Perry. In all he had found churchmen; in Perry, there were over fifty Sunday-school students, and a lot had been procured for a church. St. Mary's Church, Madison County, was admitted in 1869 as a parish. The western part of the state had suffered considerably. Mr. Saunders gave a forlorn account of conditions in Apalachicola.

“It is a day of adversity with us. The decline of the city, and the removal of a large portion of the population, have weakened the Parish, and rendered the attendance small in comparison with former years. The few who remain are steadfast in the faith, and do what they can to support the Services of the Church.”

The Reverend William D. Scull was active in his efforts for the negro.

“Some three years ago I commenced teaching the freedmen, and preaching to them. My school was as prosperous and as successful as it could have been desired. On the school-roll, the last session of it, were the names of 126 pupils. These were taught on the monitorial, or Saneraterian plan, which proved itself quite successful. But the ‘Freedman's Commission’ of our Church, found itself obliged to withdraw its support; and for the want of adequate means to sustain it, the school was abandoned.”

He had organised a regular congregation for the negroes, by the name of St. Paul's Church; twice a month he gave it his services. Once a month, he preached to a white congregation at Midway—a railroad station; one Sunday he reserved for the white people at Lake Jackson.

“The great obstacle in the way of improving, religiously and morally, the colored people, is their own ministry. The mischief which this effects is incalculably great. And when we speak of it as fetish, fanatical, as stupid, exceeding stupidity, and even diabolical, we do it no injustice. But the black man is a human being; and the means which informed the white man may improve him. Education and Christianity alone can better his condition.”

The stations along the St. John's River, visited by Mr. McClure between June 1st and July 1st, 1869, were Baten Island (now Batten; south of Fernandina), Fort George, Hibernia, Green Cove Springs, Federal Point, Orange Mills (northeast of Palatka), Dunn's Lake at Hutchinson's, and Dunn's Lake at Ellington. In some of these places, services are held to-day. The interior of Florida was gradually opening to the permanent resident; and groves were being planted and substantial houses built. On the 13th of April, 1869, Bishop Young started in his hired conveyance, with the Reverend Mr. Quinby, on a missionary journey into the central part of the state. Sickness and the difficulty of procuring forage for the mules caused the trip to be abandoned at Lake Harris.¹¹⁷

Goodman's (Madison County) and Magnolia and Pilot's Landing are mentioned in the Journal of 1870, as visited by the Reverend John Hammond. At the same time, the Reverend Mr. McClure had extended his labours into the present vicinity of Sanford; he mentioned holding services at Volusia (south of Lake George) and Mellonville. The Millwood vestry decided in October, 1869, to build a church; they procured the lumber, and had \$525 subscribed. St. John's, Jacksonville, was about to begin "a substantial Church edifice on the site occupied by the one destroyed during the late war." St. John's Academy for Boys had been started in Jacksonville, at the suggestion of Bishop Young; it was opened October 23rd, 1869, with the Reverend Ignatius Koch, D. D., as headmaster, and the rector and the Reverend Mr. Hammond as assistants. Mr. Koch held services in German for the Jacksonville residents of German birth. Another educational venture was St. Mary's Priory, at Fernandina—"a diocesan seminary for young girls and young ladies" under the Bishop's direction. In January, 1870, the defunct parish of St. James, Lake City, was organized under the Reverend Mr. Quinby.¹¹⁸ In December of that year, Bishop Young visited Sumter County at the invitation of a new colony started on Panasoffkee Lake; he found that the services of the Church were read there every Sunday.¹¹⁹

In June, 1871, the Reverend C. William Camp, rector of St. James's, Lake City, commenced holding services at Live Oak. "The Parish is very feeble as yet," he said; "but with judicious nursing I hope will live. The apparent uncertainty of residents of the interior towns . . . operates as a great drawback. . . . The doctors and lawyers seem to be deserting the small towns and flocking *en masse* to Savannah and Jacksonville, leaving only the artisan and farmer, whose pro-

¹¹⁷*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1869.*

¹¹⁸*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1870.*

¹¹⁹*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1871.*

clivities and traditions do not lead them to the Church." July 23rd, Mr. Camp organized St. Barnabas's Church, at Ellaville, near the Suwanee River. Ellaville was thought to be a promising place with the prospect of a large manufacturing population.

On the 6th of December, 1871, Bishop Young left home for a visitation of the upper St. John's, Indian and Halifax rivers. At Palatka, he was joined by the Reverend Francis Rader Holeman, missionary of the St. John's River. On Saturday, the 9th of December, they reached Salt Lake, the landing for Sand Point, three hundred miles from the mouth of the river. After a ride of nine miles, they reached the home of Colonel Titus on Sunday; and held services for nearly fifty in the dining room of the hotel. At the original Sand Point settlement, five miles back from the river, they found a log school-house where a Sunday-school was in operation. (Sand Point appears on Colton's map, 1873, on the Indian River, a few miles north of Titusville). On Monday, the Bishop and Mr. Holeman embarked in a large sail-boat for the settlements on the Mosquito Lagoon and Halifax River. Near the canal, uniting the Halifax and Mosquito, they called on Mr. Dummett, an orange-grower and a churchman. Two days later, they reached New Smyrna, after an arduous trip and much exposure to the cold. At New Smyrna, they found "a really fine hotel," as well as an old churchman. After difficulties and struggles against the tide, in which they nearly capsized, they reached Daytona. The colony there consisted of about sixty families, "some having the culture and education which characterizes the first class of society." At Daytona there was insufficient house-room, and provisions were scarce. Services were held the next day. Then the two clergymen returned by Enterprise and Mellonville.¹²⁰

Bishop Young was unable to attend the Council of 1872, having been detained at Key West a month, awaiting an opportunity to reach the mainland. "On the 27th of January, I succeeded in getting away, and on the 31st reached home." Two days after Christmas, "I started from Quincy to ride fifty-four miles in an open buggy to Marianna, it being the coldest day of the year, and so cold as to freeze at midday. It was, of course, painfully uncomfortable, but by stopping several times to warm at a roadside house, I escaped all ill effects, except rheumatism." At Marianna, he found that "notwithstanding the unparalleled depression in Jackson County, greater a good deal than in other parts of the state, the full amount pledged has been paid to the minister, and the diocesan assessment for the last year, and a part of the deficiency of the year before, has been met." On the 24th of February, 1873, the

¹²⁰*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1872.*

Bishop left for a visitation of Tampa and Manatee. From Cedar Keys, he took a steamer for Tampa. There he remained a week, and confirmed eleven. On the 4th of March, "after spending most of the day in unsuccessful efforts to procure a boat to convey us to Manatee, we chartered one just arrived from Alafia." Two days afterwards, he reached Manatee; and there had three confirmations. Returning by way of Tampa, he took "the tedious stage route by way of Brooksville, Sumterville"—just north of the present Bushnell—"and Ocala." The same year, there was reported that "at Sanford, near Mellonville, on Lake Monroe, a beautiful Church, after designs by Upjohn, is nearly ready for consecration, by the side of which is to be erected a rectory." The Bishop also stated that "on Indian River, an earnest churchman, who is a graduate of Oxford University, England, and an educator of many years' experience, has opened a boarding and day school, and by my authority, is acting as Lay-reader, and doing what he can for the establishment of our services in that benighted region."¹²¹

By 1874, the Church at Gainesville was so far completed as to be used for worship. The Ocala churchmen had some \$500 in sight for a building. The Reverend Mr. Holeman was visiting the different stations on the St. John's River; and regular lay services had been established at Sand Point, Orlando, Orange Mills, Federal Point, and Fort Read. At Mellonville (or Sanford), the beautiful little Church of the Holy Cross had been completed; Bishop Young consecrated it on Low Sunday, 1873. Mr. Francis Eppes was acting as lay reader and catechist at Orlando, and was making "an impression for good which will be felt long after he has passed away." Regular lay services were established at Apopka, the Lodge, and Lake Jesup. Once a month, some thirty or forty people attended a service at Lake Maitland. Gradually the Church was securing a foothold in the interior of the state.

For five years, the Bishop had subsidised St. Mary's Priory at Fernandina. It was at length discovered to be a painful and difficult undertaking; and, being moved to Jacksonville, it was turned over to the Diocese. The Bishop remarked:—

"Had I, had any of us, foreseen such an unprecedented series of disastrous years as the last five have been, we could not have entertained the thought of embarking in any such enterprise. And could I have foreseen the difficulties, perplexities, expenditures and interference with the performance of other important official duties, which I was taking upon myself in assuming this work, I should have shrunk from the undertaking as a burden too great for me to bear. But having once taken it upon me I felt that I had assumed a responsible trust."

¹²¹*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1873.*

Some of the difficulties and delays in travelling, when most of the state was unreached by railroad or any sort of highway and when there were few ports of entry and the most irregular passenger service, may be gathered from the Bishop's accounts.

"On the 2d of May (1873) I left home for the visitation of St. Paul's Church, Key West, and arrived there on the 6th. . . . It was my plan, on setting out on this visitation, to take the same steamer on which I went, on her return from Havana, and continue on her to New-Orleans, in order to reach Pensacola for the visitation of West Florida. But on reaching Key West I learned that all vessels from New-Orleans were to be quarantined at Havana twenty days, on account of cholera in New-Orleans. As imperative engagements for the immediate future rendered it impossible for me to remain there twenty days and then proceed to West Florida, I determined to take the steamer from New York for New Orleans, but on making inquiry as to the time when the next steamer was expected, I was informed it would be two or three weeks, as the vessel then about due had met with an accident, and would miss her trip. I had been twice detained for a month on this island, and once besides for a fortnight, notwithstanding every possible effort to get away; and as the yellow fever was now becoming epidemic in Havanna, and might break out any day in Key West, and cause the quarantine of any vessel on which I might depart thence at any port of the United States, I determined to leave for the main land by the first chance that offered, and accordingly sailed on the steamer Clyde for New-York, where I arrived on the 18th of May. Thence I proceeded to Fernandina, where I arrived of the 29th of May, just in time for the examinations and closing exercises of the school year at the Priory."¹²²

In 1875, Bishop Young made another visit to Orange County; there the Episcopal Church was scarcely known. Mr. Francis Eppes was an active exponent of the Church in Orlando; and a prominent Church family had recently located at Lake Maitland. But the Bishop "found the Church people in Orange County exceedingly scattered; no settlement being large enough to form a nucleus or available standpoint for Church work. The devoted and earnest missionary—Rev. Lyman Phelps—who had just then entered upon his duties in great feebleness of body, comprehended fully . . . the nature of his work." From the constant accessions to the population of the county, the Bishop hoped that there would be formed the germs of several parishes within its borders.

Two weeks later, the Bishop travelled from Ocala to Gainesville—

¹²²*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1874.*

some thirty-eight miles. But travelling was no easy task in those days, in central Florida.

“From the heaviness of the roads and some unexpected detentions on the way, including the fording of the head of Paine’s Prairie after dark, which was then a large lake, I found myself, at ten o’clock at night, some seven miles from Gainesville as I supposed; and as I knew not where I was to stop or could find shelter or feed for my horse, I determined to camp by the roadside for the night. Everything was comfortable and pleasant till about four o’clock in the morning, when a peal of thunder overhead, and portentous clouds, admonished me to protect myself as best I could from a coming storm. I did my best, and with all haste; but for two hours, in a buggy without a top, I was pelted by a most merciless rain, and so completely drenched, that not until the middle of the afternoon was it possible for me, with the help of a good fire, to get into a proper condition to go out of doors. I had to be excused, of course, to the congregation in the morning, but at night I preached and confirmed two.”

Travelling from the western part of the state eastward was by indirect route. A northern detour was necessary. Bishop Young, the same year, returned from Pensacola to Marianna “by way of Montgomery and Eufaula, Alabama. On reaching the latter place I took a buggy, for which I had made arrangements previously, and in two days accomplished the distance of one hundred miles from Eufaula to Marianna, with the mercury standing at nearly or quite a hundred in the shade.” Arriving in Marianna, Bishop Young confirmed twelve. He then proceeded on his way, as follows:—

“Immediately after dinner I started for Ocheese, twenty-five miles distant, in order to take at midnight the steamer going down from Bainbridge to Apalachicola. The driver of the conveyance proved not to know the road, . . . and kept on down the river till after one o’clock in the morning, over an unfrequented road, frequently obstructed by large trees blown down across it, with the night so intensely dark that no progress would have been practicable without the light of torches, which we renewed as often as was necessary.”

The 3rd of December, the Bishop embarked at Cedar Keys; but did not reach Key West till the 10th, having been a week in making the passage. “At Punta Rasa, where we were obliged to seek shelter from a terrible gale and furious sea, and where we lay for two days and nights, I found the gentleman in charge of the telegraph cable to be a Churchman, and his wife a communicant.”

Tampa was supplied by the beginning of 1876, by the Reverend Harrison Dodge, a deacon. It was coupled as a missionary station with Manatee. Bishop Young felt at that time that the portion of the Diocese most demanding attention was the eastern coast, south of St. Augustine.

“Since my visit to the Indian and Halifax Rivers, population has been gradually though slowly coming in; and it is important to establish the Church wherever a sufficient nucleus can be found. The two difficulties . . . have been, first, the fact that the settlers have been generally isolated and distant from each other, extending along a line of river margin for some hundreds of miles, and secondly, the want of any established system of communication and travel between the different settlements, except such as could be provided by private arrangement and at great cost.”¹²³

The visit which Bishop Young paid to Key West in December, 1875, is of considerable significance in the history of Anglican missions, since it provided the main stimulus to a movement which has grown to notable dimensions—the work of the Episcopal Church among the Cubans. It was on this trip that the Bishop was keenly aroused to the opportunity and challenge provided by the Cuban natives. A large number had immigrated to Florida, and there were prospects of more. Soon after his arrival in Key West, the mayor of the city, Mr. Cespedes, and several other representative Cubans, waited upon him, and informed him of the very general desire on the part of their people, now numbering over five thousand—for the establishment of the Church there in the Spanish language. Accordingly, the Bishop provided a public meeting of the Cubans, at St. Paul’s Church, on the evening of December 20th. After duly organizing the group, he addressed the same about an hour. Mr. Cespedes translated his remarks, period by period; then Mr. Baez (afterwards ordained to the ministry by Bishop Young) and Mayor Cespedes “spoke earnestly and eloquently.” A resolution was next unanimously passed, embodying the desire for the Church’s services. Before leaving Key West, the Bishop ordered two hundred Spanish prayer books sent to Doctor Steele, the rector of St. Paul’s, and appointed Mr. Baez lay reader for the Cubans.

Mr. Baez evidently found his duties congenial, for on the Fifth Sunday in Lent, 1877, he was ordained deacon at St. Paul’s Church. On the following Wednesday, Bishop Young held a visitation of the Cuban missions; the services were conducted throughout in Spanish, and the canticles sung well. A notable beginning had been made among a people, “who with very few exceptions, never at all attended upon the

¹²³*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1876.*

worship of God, or observed His Holy Day, except as the day for card-playing, cock-fighting, theatricals, and such-like follies and sins." Twenty-nine were presented by Mr. Baez, besides thirty-five who had been confirmed in the Church of Rome. The new parish of St. Peter's, only a little over a year old, was in complete working-order; and Key West, with its two parishes and its flourishing Cuban mission, was one of the most promising fields in the Diocese.

It was at this time that Bishop Young began preparations for a coloured mission, for the benefit of a thousand unchurched negro Cuban residents of Key West. Mr. Baez promised to take hold, provided the assurance of support for himself and family were forthcoming; and \$1000 was recommended as a minimum stipend "in that very expensive town."¹²⁴

In 1878, the Bishop reported to the Council that Mr. Baez's Cuban work had held its own beyond expectation. There was a desire for a church independent of the other Key West parishes, though realisation of that hope seemed quite distant. A mission had been organized among the negro Cubans, and a lay reader named Perez officiated regularly for their benefit. The Reverend Doctor J. L. Steele, rector of St. Paul's, Key West, died October 13th, 1878. Bishop Young, in commenting on his life, remarked that "it was mainly owing to his interest in the Cubans and his well directed efforts in their behalf that the work for their benefit was inaugurated." Mr. Baez, who owed his preparation largely to Dr. Steele, was ordained a priest the Second Sunday in Lent, 1879. The new Cuban mission, of which he had charge, was known as St. John's; and that year, seventy-two families were reported and a total of three hundred souls. Still the Cubans were without a church of their own; they used St. Paul's after the conclusion of the regular morning service.

In 1877, the Woman's Auxiliary Society for Missions in the Diocese of Florida made their first annual report. They had begun in May, 1876, in accordance with a plan of organization furnished by the Bishop and Standing Committee; in one year, out of twenty-one parishes and mission stations, there were twelve Auxiliary branches. In Tampa, the work of the Church was almost entirely in the hands of the ladies; there they assumed a debt for the clergyman's board; they opened a Sunday-school with seventeen pupils, and solicited books and leaflets. At that time, the Tampa mission numbered only five families and seventeen members.

The Marion County missionary, the Reverend Robert Lansberger, held services in 1877 in six different places—Ocala, Millwood, Cabbage

¹²⁴*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1877.*

Hammock, Spring Hill, Silver Springs, and Spencer Place. His field embraced a territory fifty miles long and twenty-five miles wide. The St. John's River missionary, the Reverend C. W. Knauff, visited Hibernia, Fort George Island, Mulberry Grove, and Federal Point. In both Hibernia and Fort George Island, preparations were being made for building churches. In Jacksonville, under the Reverend Reginald Heber Weller, local missions had been started in LaVilla, Brooklyn, and East Jacksonville. Out of these grew in later years three Jacksonville churches—St. Stephen's, LaVilla; the Church of the Good Shepherd; and St. Andrew's Church.

A committee directed to report upon the condition of the negro freedmen, and to consider and propose some plan for the advancement of their spiritual culture, submitted an interesting statement. Previous to the emancipation, they said, the Church in the southern dioceses looked upon the coloured race as committed to her special care—"the subjects of her patient teaching and earnest prayer. . . . Colored baptisms, confirmations, admission of communicants, catechizing and services held, new churches built for the better accommodation of the negroes, and offerings . . . made up a large portion of the parochial report for every Southern parish priest. In those days the standing of a clergyman in a Southern diocese, the estimation in which he was held, depended largely upon his faithful labor and success amongst the colored people." While no change in the political or social condition of the negro, arising out of his emancipation, can release the Church from her duty, still the teaching of certain unscrupulous men "that the interests of the freedmen were no longer the same with those of their former owners, led to an estrangement, and then to an angry and bitter opposition." This estrangement threatens "to impair, if not to destroy, their prosperity and well-being in the entire South." Separate and distinct Church organizations have been formed; this has widened the distance between the two races. There were not sufficient negroes of education at the time of emancipation to take the place of the former white teachers and ministers; and there has been a consequent decline in religious knowledge and orderly living. Yet "these sons of Africa, by their faithful and productive labor in the long years preceding the emancipation, and more especially by their fidelity in watching over our homes and their helpless inmates in the past days of our trials and dangers, have earned a claim upon the good will and the heart of every Southern man—a claim not easily or soon discharged."

The committee felt that "they can propose no better and no wiser plan this this,—

"that we take up the work for the colored race just where

the Church, in the day of her great trial and destitution, when her churches were closed and her ministers were scattered, laid it down; and, taking it up, prosecute it with the old and earnest spirit and with the use of the old means that have never failed to secure success, and because they were the means devised by apostolic men, and sanctioned and made effective by the ever blessed Spirit.

"Let our Bishop . . . regard the colored race as a portion of the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made him the overseer, give them a large place in his heart and in his prayers and plans for work. Let every Presbyterian in our Diocese do that which every Southern presbyter did in past years . . . look upon the freedmen within the bounds of his parish as a part of his cure of souls; visit their sick and pray by their bedsides; urge them to bring their little ones to holy baptism; interest himself in their labors, and sympathize with them in their trials. Let vestries do that which vestries did before the emancipation—make provision of place for them in the churches and invite them to come and worship with us as in past years, . . . listen with them to the same instructions at the mouth of God's ministers, and kneel with them before the altar of Him who died for all men. Let the colored children be gathered in our Sunday-schools, and be as faithfully catechised as in the old parish and plantation churches.

"The Committee would suggest, when it is practicable, the employment of the colored, together with white teachers, in the Sunday-schools, as this course, while it would give rise to kindly feelings and good will, would likewise give to these colored teachers all the advantages of the drill and routine of instruction of Sunday-schools. . . .

"Let the Clergy offer and hold themselves in readiness to bury their dead, opening their churches for the funeral services, and seeing to it that nothing is wanting in the Church's solemn and impressive offices for the dead. . . .

"Your Committee would further suggest to the Clergy of the Diocese that were they, as opportunity offered, to cultivate the acquaintance of the teachers and ministers of the colored congregations in their neighborhoods, talking with them concerning their work, its difficulties or its success, offering to lend them such books as would give them plain and definite instruction in the great doctrines of the Christian faith, and sermons written for plain and rural congregations, that they would do a good work."

It was resolved that in future meetings of the Council, one session be devoted to the consideration of the work of the Church amongst the freedmen; and that the clergy state the condition of the freedmen in their parochial reports. The Reverend Owen P. Thackara was chairman of the committee which presented this broad and far-sighted document.¹²⁵

¹²⁵*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1877.*

New work was noted at the Council of 1878. St. John's Parish, Jacksonville, had a school for girls—Bradford Institute—rendered possible by the generosity of Mrs. Mary S. Bradford, of Cleveland, Ohio. On the Second Sunday after Epiphany, 1878, Bishop Young visited Leesburg for the first time in nine years. He found quite a number of Church people. The union church there was entirely filled; the Presbyterian minister and elders acted as choir conductors. The congregation "was of such an excellent class of people, so appreciative, and of such admirable tone and spirit," said the Bishop, "that I enjoyed the services in an unusual degree." On the 28th of February, he visited Orange Park—"a growing settlement twelve miles above Jacksonville." There General Hamilton acted as lay reader; and the Bishop called on every household of the settlement, and discovered that the majority of the settlers were church-people. A lot was secured for a church. On Quinquagesima, 1878, St. Mark's Church, Palatka, was consecrated. The First Sunday in Lent, Bishop Young visited San Manteo. Services were held in the union meeting-house. After evening prayer, the Bishop and the Reverend C. S. Williams met in the house of the only family of churchmen in the neighbourhood, and organized a mission. On March 17th, services were conducted at Green Cove Springs, in the only house of worship in the town. The people of Magnolia—a mile and a half away—attended; people were gathered from hotels. The Bishop spent a week there. Over \$1000 was subscribed; and a site for a church was donated by Mr. Thaddeus Davids, and Bishop Young contracted for the erection of a church. "This is a most gratifying result of one week's effort in a place where we have not a single Church-family among the permanent residents."

The Monday after Low Sunday found the Bishop in Key West. On that day, he visited the newly organized Cuban mission—St. John's—composed of Cubans who worshipped in St. Paul's Church. The services were conducted throughout in Spanish. After a sermon by Mr. Baez, twelve were confirmed and thirteen received "upon the formal renunciation of the errors of the Church at Rome." Baez had also organized a mission among the coloured Cubans, of whom there were some fifteen hundred. The coloured congregation at Key West—St. Peter's—was under the care of Mr. Green, a layman, "who chorally conducts the services for them, reading sermons or exhorting them, and teaching a daily Church School. He enters heartily upon his self-denying work, and has a strong hold upon the hearts of the people generally. As the congregation consists entirely of laboring people, the very foremost of whom told me, when I was there, that they could not get a day's work in a month, they are naturally, in all respects, thoroughly depressed. Many are leaving for Nassau, whence they came, hoping

to better themselves, while nearly as many are coming from there, seeking the same end here."

By this time, St. John's, Jacksonville, had erected two chapels—St. Stephen's in LaVilla, and St. Philip's in East Jacksonville. A mission had been organized as early as 1870 in East Jacksonville, in a small room of an unoccupied cottage; Mr. Charles S. Snowden, who was subsequently ordained to the ministry, assisted in organizing this school. In April, 1877, a lot was purchased for a chapel; and soon afterwards a chapel was erected, largely from the offerings of the children of the parish Sunday-school. At the instance of Mr. Snowden, the mission was called St. Philip's; but when, under the direction of Bishop Young, a church was built for the coloured people, at the Bishop's request the name of St. Philip's was given to that new mission, and the old mission of St. Philip's became known as St. Andrew's.¹²⁶

In 1878, the Reverend Charles A. Gilbert of Gainesville was also officiating at Cedar Keys, Rosewood, Bronson, Waldo, Santa Fe Lake, and Millwood. The Reverend Charles S. Williams had raised \$75 towards the erection of a church at Crescent City—the Holy Comforter; he was conducting monthly services at Como and Welaka. Gradually the Reverend Lyman Phelps was securing a foothold for the Church in the lower St. John's River section and the orange lands of central Florida. Three Sundays a month, he held services at Sanford; a Sunday-school was organized at Fort Reid; he had eight communicants at Orlando; he had visited Fort Mason, about forty miles from Sanford, and started a Sunday-school. On the afternoon of the fifth Sunday in March, 1878, Mr. Phelps drove ten miles to Zellwood; and "held a service in a pole school-house, which had sides, a temporary floor, and rafters, and ribs for the shingle. The service was hearty, and the whole tone was one of a people whose soul was in the work of the Master." When he returned four Sundays later, he found "a churchly little building, with roof on and a temporary floor; and in it we celebrated the Holy Communion in the morning." There were baptisms. "No people have I met," he said, "who deserve greater credit for their faithful and successful efforts to have a Church than these. Not five dollars in money has been spent. It has been a labor of love thus far." Said Mr. Phelps:—

"I am spread over so much territory; can do so little; can only be a consolation to some few already in the fold. Everywhere I listen to a tale of woe. With a large share of the upwards of eighty communicants I meet during the year, the question where bread is to come from is a stern reality."

¹²⁶The information regarding the Jacksonville missions may be found in the *Centennial of St. John's Parish, Jacksonville, Florida, 1934*, pp. 22-23 (data compiled by Herbert Lamson).

The Reverend W. H. Carter, D. D., LL. D., Ph. D., of the Halifax and Indian River mission, reported in 1878 that he held services at New Britain, Holly Hill, Daytona, Port Orange and Titusville . . . "as regularly as the weather would permit, for the rivers being the highways, were not always in condition for travelling. The whole section is opened to the Church, with little or no opposition, but there is need of everything. There is no surplice, except those belonging to the Missionaries. At one place a box is covered with a piece of sand-fly netting, old and discolored. At another, the plain table has a newspaper upon it. At another an ink-stained desk is used. While at still another, a bureau served as an altar. There is neither a Bible nor Prayer Book for Chancel Service in the whole jurisdiction, nor in fact anything which the Church can call her own, except a few small Prayer Books, which are much the worse for—not wear, unfortunately—but for sundry drippings, the result of accidents by the river." The associate missionary in this field, the Reverend H. B. S. Martin, had held services, "when not prevented by sickness and stress of weather, at all points on the Halifax River, viz.: at New Britain, Holly Hill, Daytona and Port Orange;" and had found the same well attended, although the people were unable to participate because of the lack of paged Prayer books. He had visited Titusville and Harveyville on the Indian River, and also New Smyrna; at all three places, there were good congregations.¹²⁷

On May 26th, 1878, Bishop Young visited Port Orange; preached and celebrated the Holy Communion. The same day, he confirmed three at Daytona. The Sunday after Ascension, he officiated on the Indian River, at the house of a Mr. Cleveland, a former vestryman of Trinity Church, New Orleans. Settlers from both sides of the river attended. Doctor Carter assisted. "This was the first visit ever made by a Church clergyman to that region and we were welcomed heartily." The Bishop preached and celebrated the Holy Communion; in the afternoon, services were conducted on the opposite side of the river. "The congregation were seated in the shade of a fine grove of forest trees, closely surrounding the house, the piazza being occupied as chancel and pulpit by Dr. Carter, who preached, and myself." On the 3rd of June, Bishop Young and Doctor Carter proceeded down the river to Eau Gallie, to visit some church families there, "who were literally as sheep in the wilderness without a shepherd." The next day, services were held in the house of their hosts; an infant was baptized, and the Holy Communion celebrated. Doctor Carter preached. On June 5th, said the Bishop, "though sick with fever, I met by appointment in the neighborhood in which we officiated on Sunday, those who

¹²⁷*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1878.*

could sing, to drill them in the chants, the novelty of the thing attracting a number, besides, who could not sing."

"I was exceedingly pleased on the whole with my visit to Indian River. I was surprised to find so orderly, moral, intelligent, and respectable a population, though almost entirely destitute of religious service and instruction."

Doctor Carter had ten places under his care. "This involves a sail of nearly two hundred miles in an open boat." There were only about twenty-five communicants in the whole mission. Two lay readers were under his direction; and services were held every Sunday at Daytona and Rockledge.¹²⁸

On the Third Sunday after Trinity, 1879, Bishop Young consecrated the Church of the Holy Cross, Marguerita. "The work at this station is peculiar and of singular interest, as demonstrating that the humblest and most unlettered of our rural population can be brought under the influence and training of the Church by judicious, loving and persevering effort." On the 19th of January, 1880, he laid the cornerstone of St. John's Church, Tallahassee; the former church had been burned, at great loss to the people. The Bishop visited Baldwin, February 19th; and confirmed nine. The lay reader in charge was Reginald Heber Weller, the son of the rector of St. John's, Jacksonville—afterwards Bishop of Fond du Lac. Young Mr. Weller taught school in that little town; and the religious prospect was not promising. "The community in and about Baldwin," said Bishop Young, "has been so hard to produce any impression upon for good, that no religious efforts, by whatever denomination put forth, had hitherto produced the slightest results." But the future Bishop was making progress.

"A few months' residence in this community, by Mr. Weller, who was not only faithful in lay reading, but diligent and judicious in personal conversations while visiting from house to house, and in the distribution of books and tracts, giving instruction concerning the Church, has . . . leavened the whole community with a love for the Church."

On the 3rd of April, 1880, Bishop Young laid the foundation of All Saints' Church, Fairbanks. Churches were being built in other places in the vicinity—Santa Fe, Waldo, and Lawty. The advance in that section was due to the Reverend Owen P. Thackara, who, though living as far distant as Fernandina, visited the people there for several years. In other parts of the Diocese, the work went on apace. The

¹²⁸*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1879.*

Reverend W. H. Carter of Tallahassee was holding week-day services at Lloyds; and the Reverend Charles F. Rodefer of Monticello went every month to the village of Greenville, where there were about a dozen members. "I doubt whether any Diocese in our Church of no more strength than ours has been of late doing so much," said Bishop Young in 1880. "Eleven churches built or in progress in one year, in so small a Diocese as ours, is a record of which we may not only be not ashamed, but is a cause for devout thankfulness to God."¹²⁹

Although authorised to incorporate by the Act of February 10th, 1838, the Diocese had never effected its incorporation. It was recognised that the want of a legal corporate existence might involve the Diocese in difficulties; so, on the 5th of May, 1881, "the Bishop, Clergy and Laity of the several Parishes comprising the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Florida, assembled in Council," organised as a body corporate, under the authority of the original Act and its amendment of February 1st, 1881. By-laws were adopted.

On the 8th of November, 1880, the Reverend Charles A. Gilbert, of St. Paul's, Key West, died at his post of yellow fever. Only two years and a few days had intervened between his death and that of his predecessor, the Reverend Doctor Steele, who died in the same rectory of the same disease. The Bishop felt that Mr. Gilbert's resistance had been impaired by excessive work; he had served both St. Paul's and St. Peter's parishes, and had the oversight of the schools.

On June 24th, 1880, the Bishop had laid the cornerstone of the Church at Orange Park. By the Convention of 1881, it was completed—"churchly and pleasing in style, and a very satisfactory success for a building of its cost." The cyclone of August 29th, 1880, destroyed the Church at Sanford; but steps were promptly taken to rebuild the same. In the meantime, a Church was built at Ocala; the town showed prospects of growth. On the Second Sunday after Easter, Bishop Young went with the Reverend Mr. Weller of St. John's, Jacksonville, and the Reverend Mr. Bicknell, his assistant, to Brooklyn—then a suburb of Jacksonville—"to open and bless the new chapel just completed there, which is unusually satisfactory and pleasant for its cost. The services were very spirited and impressive, the sermon was by myself, and the attendance indicated more than ordinary interest, as quite a number stood out of doors during the entire services, being unable to obtain even standing room within the building." (Thus the future Church of the Good Shepherd had a great impetus forward). Bishop Young was pleased at the progress made throughout the Diocese. In 1870, he remarked, there was only one communicant for every 322 of the population, while in 1880 the ratio was one to every 172, show-

¹²⁹*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1880.*

ing a gain of the Church of 150 per cent. In 1881, St. Mary's, Cedar Creek, appeared on the list, with nineteen families; and a very encouraging report was given by the Reverend C. W. Ward, missionary in charge of Maitland and adjacent points.

"Since taking charge of the work assigned to me January 9, 1881, I have officiated publicly on forty occasions, thirteen times in Orlando, and the remaining times in Maitland. My customs having been to officiate twice a Sunday. . . . The attendance has averaged, in Orlando, about 45, and in Maitland, about 70. . . . The work of building the new church which Bishop Whipple has so generously contributed for, has been undertaken by Mr. McGuire, a builder from the north, who is now engaged upon the church at Sanford, and expects to begin ours within a few days, as I am informed. The cost of this proposed building, when completed, will be \$1,800. . . . In this connection I would also mention that I have been offered a large church lot in Orlando for the erection of a building for church services, and have promised the people that I would lay the matter before you. We are in sad need of a church in Orlando, all the more because of the filthy and obnoxious character of the Court House, in which we are compelled at present to worship. At the same time our number are so small there, and owing to the many religious divisions and sects which peculiarly drain that portion of my Mission; the means for church building are likewise so small that a Mission Church could hardly be built there except by means of considerable aid from abroad. . . . There are under my jurisdiction at present, in all, 31 communicants, that is, in Maitland 15, in Orlando 13, in Altamente, 2. This does not include some scattering communicants in the remote outlying regions such as Zellwood and Apopka. I have also, in all, about 71 families, resident attendants upon the services."¹³⁰

After the Council, the Bishop left for Orlando to confer with the people about building a church, and securing a proper site for the same. On December 30th, 1881, he met the few Church people of that town and neighbourhood; and made certain proposals of aid, provided they did their utmost to help themselves. Their response exceeded his most sanguine expectation. "The finest site in or about the town was decided upon and secured, it being the crown of a ridge, descending to a lake, within two blocks of the Court-house, and therefore very central and accessible, and containing one acre of land." The contract for the building was made.

The mission at Mandarin was showing progress. A few years before, there was scarcely an Episcopalian in the whole community; but the Reverend C. M. Sturges had united that whole intelligent com-

¹³⁰*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1881.*

munity, and secured over \$500 towards the erection of a church. Professor Calvin Ellis Stowe and his wife, Harriet Beecher, were residing there during the winter months.

Twice a month, the Reverend W. H. Carter held services at the state lunatic asylum. Under his care, the work at Madison had made such progress that a contract was signed for the building of a church. The activities at Key West had greatly subsided since the last rector's death; but under the Reverend Charles F. D. Lyne there was a renewal of life. Trinity Church, Apalachicola, had declined and become quite disorganized. The parish was in charge of a deacon; and there had been no confirmations or communions in a year. 1882 found the Church and rectory at Sanford still unfinished; the Reverend S. B. Carpenter was missionary in charge. The Reverend H. W. Stuart-Martin was able to report twelve families of Church people at Daytona. He said:—

“I took charge middle of June, 1881; have maintained services at Daytona, Port Orange and Ormond, three services each Sunday, except one Sunday a month from August to November, 1881, and in March and April, 1882, when three services have been held in DeLand and Orange City each Sunday. In DeLand there are 18 Communicants, some of whom reside there only during the winter. In Orange City there are seven. At Ormond and Port Orange, I have not felt discouraged, but by the Divine blessing and by faithful work, it is hoped to recover the two years that were lost by the relinquishment of Missionary work there. Everything is to be hoped for at Daytona. There is no advance in one way, but we think that foundations are being substantially laid. A Chapel is expected to be built and ready for use by the end of the year. God grant it! A good lot has been secured, the gift of a Churchman, and three hundred and fifty dollars are in hand for the building of the Chapel. . . . At DeLand, a provisional offer has been made of an acre of land with eighty orange trees on it set out two years ago.”

Emmanuel Church, Welake, with eight families, had paid off all indebtedness. The Church was consecrated, June 3rd, 1881. St. Paul's mission, Federal Point, was planning the building of a church. At Longwood, a church was completed under the care of the Reverend Lyman Phelps of Sanford. The Reverend C. S. Williams visited every month the “station central to Como, Pomona and Crystal Lake;” and the people of the vicinity, not members of the Church, were contributing to a building fund. St. Margaret's Church, Hibernia, though not yet organized either as a parish or as a mission, could boast “a very neat and pretty Chapel, occupying a charming site on the St. John's River,” built as a memorial to the late Mrs. Margaret Fleming. For awhile,

the Reverend Washington B. Erban held services in the parlor of Mr. F. A. Fleming's house.

The Reverend Albion Williamson Knight, later the first Bishop of Cuba, was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Young, in St. John's Church, Jacksonville, on November 27th, 1881. He was soon placed in charge of St. Mary's Church, Green Cove Springs, where he organized a Sunday-school. The mission on Lake Eustis, started by the Reverend Mr. Phelps, afforded a more promising field, however; and Mr. Knight was placed in charge.¹³¹

In 1883, there was announced "the establishment of the Diocesan Missionary newspaper—*The Florida Churchman*. This, for which we have worked, prayed and waited so many years is at last given to us, better and stronger than we had ever planned." The Bishop had high hopes of the effect of this periodical in stimulating missionary interest, since the contributions had fallen off during the past year. Yet there had been considerable progress in some places. St. Mark's, Palatka, had erected "a fine building on the church grounds for a Parochial School, at a cost of about one thousand dollars, which is entirely paid for. . . . This was a matter of great importance, not only to the parish, but to the whole community outside the Romish Church, which has hitherto had no competition in the education of the children and youths of Palatka." On the Second Sunday in Lent, after his visitation to Fort George, the Bishop went with Mr. Rand in a sail-boat six miles to the ship-yard, called Fulton; and confirmed nine negroes. "These were the first fruits of a labor of love inaugurated at this place two years ago by a devoted layman, Mr. Kjlgaard, acting under the authority of my license, as Lay Reader, and in the expense incurred of nearly a thousand dollars in the erection of a suitable chapel for this work, acting as the almoner of R. F. Cutting, Esq., of New York." The Church at Fort George was finished; and it was under the care of the Reverend Mr. Rand, of the Church in Haverhill, Massachusetts, who was wintering in Florida. On the Fourth Sunday in Lent, 1883, the Bishop visited the Church of the Good Shepherd, at Maitland, and confirmed fifteen. "This beautiful Church, erected at his own expense by the Bishop of Minnesota"—Doctor Henry Benjamin Whipple—"as a memorial to his son, and which had been recently completed, was crowded to overflowing, notwithstanding both the Roman Catholic and Methodist Bishops, by a singular coincidence, were officiating at the same hour, at their respective places of worship. This was gratifying as showing the hold which the Church has already gained upon the major part of that intelligent and interesting community." A selection from Handel's "Mes-

¹³¹*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1882.*

siah" was rendered. On March 17th, Bishop Whipple consecrated the Church. Cedar Keys was showing "healthy growth and increase in strength." The rector there, the Reverend Mr. Wilson, had established regular services at Rosewood and Bronson. On the 1st of May, Bishop Young was prevented from consecrating St. Mary's Church, Madison, by the torrents of rain which prevented attendance at the service; the consecration was postponed till the First Sunday after Trinity. St. Luke's, Marianna, had become so weak that services had been discontinued for several years; they were resumed in April, 1883. On St. Mark's day (April 25th), 1883, the cornerstone of St. Mary's, Daytona, was laid; the Reverend H. B. Stuart-Martin was missionary in charge. Sixteen families of churchmen were reported at St. Thomas's Church, Eustis; five families at the mission at Manatee River; and a total of seven persons at the Thonotosassa mission. At St. Andrew's mission, Tampa, there were in 1883 six families—a total of twenty-five persons. A serious impediment in the way of the Church's work at Tampa was the difficulty of finding a room for worship; at last, lumber was being sent to the mill. The Reverend Robert B. Welseley took charge of St. Barnabas's mission, at DeLand, September 24th, 1882. For services he had only a school-house, which he had to share with the Presbyterians and Campbellites. By 1883, the building fund amounted to \$700. Mr. Welseley also held services at St. Barnabas's mission, Orange City, where there were four families. "With the promised supply of a horse and wagon of my own," he said, "I shall be able to devote more time to this Mission; also begin services at Spring Garden, a point six miles north of DeLand, where a few Church families are settled." The Reverend S. B. Carpenter had twelve families at St. James's mission, Enterprise; he held his services in the hotel, but grounds had been given for a church. There were six families in 1883 in the Zellwood and Apopka mission. At the Yalaha mission, in Sumter county, there were ten families—thirty-six persons. By 1883 regular services were begun in Winter Park. "It is evident that a strong church community is soon to spring up there. The projectors of the town are predisposed towards the church, and have offered us every encouragement."¹³²

In 1884, St. Luke's, Orlando, was admitted into union with the Council; at the same time two other parishes fulfilled the canonical requirements and were received:—St. Mary's, Daytona, and the Church of Our Saviour, Mandarin. Since the last Council, the Church at Cedar Keys was removed to another lot, with the addition of a commodious chancel and robing room. At Rosewood, a plain building had

¹³²*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1883.*

been secured and fitted up for worship. At Tampa, a very neat and commodious Church, with seating capacity for about two hundred, had been completed. At Orlando, the Church had been finished "with exceptionally fine windows," and "with beautiful church furniture made in New York, with a fine bell of over five hundred pounds weight;" it was already proving too small for the rapidly increasing population of the town, and contracts were signed for enlarging it. At Maitland, the windows and furniture (including a fine eagle lectern) had been introduced. At Sanford, the Church had been completed; and through the efforts of the Reverend Mr. Carter, rector of Holy Cross, a fine lot had been secured at Enterprise, and a Church built and paid for at a cost of nearly two thousand dollars. The DeLand Church was ready for Easter services (1884); while at Eustis, the Church had been occupied for some months. A Church for the coloured people had been built at Palatka, and paid for. The Church at Hibernia was at last finished. At Mandarin, "a very beautiful church has been completed and paid for, at a cost of some \$2,300." Beautiful windows placed in the Church at Fort George rendered that edifice complete. The Church for the coloured people at Jacksonville—St. Philip's—had received its windows; the principal subject in the east-end triplet being the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch by St. Philip. The Church in East Jacksonville—formerly St. Philip's—had become St. Andrew's; and it had been "tastefully finished in the interior." On the lower St. John's River, a new Church for the coloured had been erected some six miles from Fulton, by Mr. R. F. Cutting of New York. The year 1883-1884 had certainly been one of constructive activity.

During the session of the General Convention, in 1883, a petition with 258 signatures had been presented to Bishop Young from Matanzas, Cuba, praying him to take measures for establishing permanently the services of the Church in that city. In pursuance of that object, he repaired to New York, and attended the meeting of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions. "But so very disappointing has been the results of the large appropriation to the work of the Church in Mexico, that the Committee thought it more prudent to defer action as to any further grants of funds for Missionary work amongst the Spanish American race, till after my contemplated visit to Cuba . . . and the report of the actual state of things as I might find them here."

Accordingly, on the 22nd of February, 1884, Bishop Young left home for a visitation of the missions in the Island of Cuba. On the evening of Thursday, February 28th, he officiated at Matanzas. After Evening Prayer in Spanish, and a sermon by the Reverend Mr. Baez, he confirmed a class of forty-one. On the Fifth Sunday in Lent, at

Matanzas, he celebrated the Holy Eucharist, and confirmed twenty more. He preached to the congregation; Mr. Baez translated his remarks. On March 3rd, he left for Havana, where he officiated twice, and confirmed fifty-five. He called on the Governor-General of Cuba, meeting with a most polite and cordial reception.¹³³

On reporting the results of his observations, he was surprised and disappointed at the refusal of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions to entertain the subject. Undaunted, however, Bishop Young remained in New York, awaiting the meeting of the Board of Managers; and utilized his time in sending a circular to every bishop and clergyman of the Church in the United States, and to many of the laymen; he also busied himself in revising the Spanish version of the Book of Common Prayer. At length, he secured a temporary appropriation for the Cuban work, at the rate of \$3000 a year.

On the Sunday after Christmas, 1884, the Bishop consecrated St. George's Church, Fort George Island. The following Sunday, he consecrated St. James's, Lake City. Visitations were made to Marguerita, Glen St. Mary, Darbyville, and Panasoffkee. Then the Bishop started for his second visitation to Cuba. On the 24th of February, 1885, he reached Havana. There he held services at the several missions, and confirmed 325. Returning from Cuba, he sailed up the west coast of Florida; and officiated at Palma Sola, at the mouth of the Manatee River. There he was agreeably surprised to find assembled in the school-house a congregation of remarkable intelligence and culture. He visited Church families on both sides of the Manatee River. Formerly there were only three or four Church families within a radius of ten miles; it had become a promising field.

A few days afterwards, while at Sanford, the Bishop became acquainted with a lady from Connecticut, Mrs. Lucy A. Boardman, who desired to contribute the means for the erection of two churches on the Indian River. In April, accompanied by the Reverend Mr. Carpenter, the Bishop started on a tour of observation, to decide upon the sites. Mrs. Boardman had mentioned Melbourne; and there the two clergymen arrived, April 17th. Mr. Carpenter spent the following day in exploring the neighbourhood, visiting the people, and collecting all information possible. He learned that the money was in hand for the purchase of four acres as a site for the church and rectory, and that there were some twenty communicants within a radius of three or four miles. On Sunday, April 19th, services were held in the hotel at Melbourne; "and, although the day was rainy and the wind so high and boisterous that one could not sail in an open boat without becoming

¹³³*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1884.*

thoroughly drenched with sea-water, a congregation of some fifty persons assembled, who proved to be nearly all Church people." After service and dinner, they "sailed for the residence of Mrs. Stevens, a Church lady from Detroit, who has recently settled there;" the following day, they left for Rockledge.¹³⁴

Bishop Young had for some time found it increasingly difficult to endure the uncertainties and privations of rural work. But although his later reports tell of enforced rests and periods of recuperation, he fought a brave fight to the end, which came on the 15th of November, 1885. As one of the pioneers of the Church in Florida, he will be gratefully remembered; and his successor, Bishop Weed, summed up his efforts in his first address to the Council of the Diocese of Florida (May 4th, 1887):—

"It is scarcely nine months since I began my work, so that I have done hardly more than learn how great were the labors and trials of my predecessor. . . . I feel I know him well, for his works speak, *though he sleepeth*. As I go over the Diocese, and behold his works, I feel he has written his own epitaph in the hearts of the people. Laborious and wise; gifted and accomplished; faithful and devoted.

"Wherever I have been with the convenience of railroads and steamboats, he went on foot, or by horse. When I take into account the labours which his extensive travels involved, it seems strange that his physical forces were not exhausted years ago. At Cocoa he went into the woods axe in hand, and prepared a site for the church. From Key West he passed over to Cuba, and established twelve congregations on that wretched island. His missionary labours were enormous. But his labours were not confined to mission work. Throughout the Diocese I have learned how his care extended to the minutest details. His taste is to be seen everywhere. I venture to say there is not a Diocese in the American Church, with as many temples of worship, constructed with the same reference to the true principles of architecture. He was not only a wise and educated master-builder, however; his foresight was markedly shown in the selection of *places* for the erection of church buildings. When you consider what a wilderness Florida was when he was consecrated, and when you consider, also, how the Church has kept ahead of immigration, and how the population has followed and clustered round the places which he selected, as centres of worship, we must pay him the homage due the wise statesman. Not satisfied with planting and establishing the Church in the most remote districts, he did not rest till he had given the people a love of true Church music, and had instructed them in the proper rendering of the ritual."¹³⁵

¹³⁴*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1885.*

¹³⁵*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1887.*

At the diocesan Council of 1886, St. Andrew's, East Jacksonville, was admitted as a parish. The handsome new building, on the corner of Florida Avenue and East Duval Street, became a memorial to the late Bishop Young. The General Missionary reported that services were being held at Melrose, as well as at Waldo and Fairbanks and Santa Fe. "The Rector of Trinity, Gainesville, dashes out into the regions round about, dropping in upon Arredondo, Micanopy, etc. At Oak Lawn, on Orange Lake, an excellent church has been built, which is convenient to Lockbie, Boardman, etc. . . . Still farther on the Florida Southern Railway, Conant and vicinity have been receiving the attention of the strong and energetic rector of Grace, Ocala; and so also have Belle View, on the Florida Railway and Navigation Company, and even Panasoffkee. The latter has been organized into a Mission and proposes to build." A Mission has been organized at Brooksville, Hernando County. Winter Park has just been organized into a mission; Kissimmee and Bartow have been calling for services. St. James's, Leesburg, has also become a mission; so has the Church of the Redeemer, Panasoffkee. On May 25th, 1886, St. Mary's, Green Cove Springs, was added to the group of organized missions. The Church in Key West was destroyed by fire; and this loss was reported to the Council. The Diocese was asked to give every encouragement and assistance to the work in that important city. The Dean of the Middle Convocation urged the need of missionary services in several localities. "Some miles below Lloyd's is Waukenah, in which I believe there was once a parish. Two counties, Liberty and Waukulla, know nothing about the Church except by hearsay, or from reminiscences of former times; for I think no Church clergyman has visited either of them since the War."

In 1886, the Church was gaining ground in the territory recently opened. The Reverend Mr. Carpenter was holding services at Rockledge, Tropic, Eau Gallie, and Melbourne, on the Indian River; and at Maitland, Winter Park, and Bartow on the South Florida Railway. St. Andrew's, Tampa, with thirty-six communicants, valued its property at \$2,300. Ormond had a church-lot and seven communicants; Port Orange, a building fund of \$400 and ten communicants. St. Edward's mission, Lane Park—mentioned two years before—reported ten communicants. It had been organized as a mission; lots had been donated, and \$400 subscribed for the building. A lot had been given for a church at Macclenny, Baker County, where there were fourteen communicants. At the Yalaha mission, there were fifteen communicants. "Yalaha is eighteen miles from Lane Park by road, though only three by water." St. John's Church, Balmoral, is mentioned in the 1886 Journal. The Chapel of the Good Shepherd, Brooklyn, in the present Jacksonville,

was making rapid strides. In the past year, a recess chancel and a vestry room had been added. The Church had been plastered and painted, and ornaments had been introduced.¹³⁶

In 1886, the Reverend Edwin Gardner Weed was elected as Bishop Young's successor. He was born in Savannah, Georgia, July 23rd, 1847. While still a student at the University of Georgia, he enlisted in the Confederate Army. At the close of the War, he went to Europe and entered the University of Berlin. After graduating there, he attended the General Theological Sminary in New York City. He was rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Augusta, Georgia, when he was called to become head of the Diocese of Florida. On the 11th of August, 1886, he was consecrated bishop in St. John's Church, Jacksonville, by Bishop Charles Todd Quintard of Tennessee, Bishop William Bell White Howe of South Carolina, Bishop George Franklin Seymour of Springfield, Bishop Robert Woodward Barnwell Elliott of West Texas, and Bishop John Nicholas Galleher of Louisiana. In his first address to the Council of his Diocese, he paid a beautiful tribute to his noble predecessor; and declared that he aspired to follow in his footsteps. "Our Diocese is pre-eminently a missionary Diocese. . . . The Church is constantly finding her way into new fields, and making new advances into the *terra incognita* of the southern portion of the State." Within a year of his consecration, churches were erected at Melrose, Huntington, Winter Park, Thonotosassa, Cocoa, and Melbourne. Dune-din and Clear Water Harbour combined in a subscription of \$300 toward the stipend of a missionary.¹³⁷

At the Council of 1888, it was observed that "many material signs of progress have marked the year. New churches have been built in ten mission fields, viz: Clear Water Harbor, Thonotosassa, Tallahassee, Cocoa, Melbourne, Pablo Beach, Fruit Cove, Lane Park, Huntington, and South Jacksonville. New missions have been regularly organized in Pinellas, Fort Meade, Clear Water Harbor, Port Orange, Ormond, Carrabelle, and Courtney. The Bishop has pushed his way into new settlements, where the Church services have never before been heard, and in all of these places he has been gladly received."

The Trustees of Auburndale College held two meetings during the past twelve months; and determined to call their college, to be situated at Auburndale, "The Florida Diocesan College." The assets amounted to \$16,482.09, of which less than half was in hand; but it was moved that a contract be let for the building. The St. James' Academy and Boarding School for girls, "after a desperate struggle for three and one-half years in Lake City, and three years in Macclenny," at last

¹³⁶*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1886.*

¹³⁷*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1887.*

became an institution of the Diocese. In 1881, it had begun its work with a corps of four teachers; in 1888, it had a corps of nine teachers, and nine boarding and sixty day pupils.

On August 14th, 1887, Bishop Weed made the opening address at St. Paul's-by-the-Sea, Pablo Beach. On the 27th of September, he received the application of Christ Church, Fort Meade, to be organized into a mission. On the 27th of November, 1887, he consecrated St. Mary's Church, Daytona. On the 19th of January, 1888, he consecrated St. John's, Tallahassee. Ten days later (January 29th), he consecrated St. Paul's, Key West. On the 14th of March, he visited St. James's, Clear Water Harbor.

The 1888 Council marked the semi-centennial of the Diocese; and it was appropriately held in Tallahassee. Colonel James Jaquelin Daniel presented an historical sketch of the Church in Florida; the Reverend W. H. Carter, D. D., submitted the history of St. John's Church, Tallahassee; and Major George R. Fairbanks gave a paper on "the Early Churchmen of Florida." These splendid contributions were published as an appendix to the 1888 Journal. In fifty years, the Diocese had grown to such an extent that there were congregations in about eighty places.¹³⁸

In 1888, there was a terrible epidemic of yellow fever. Not only was the mortality high, but the State suffered in reputation; it was difficult to obtain men to serve in Florida. In spite of this handicap, and through contributions sent from outside, Bishop Weed was able to keep the missionaries paid in full. "I think our thanks are due the Church in the United States, North, East, South and West, for their generous contributions to our needs. Over \$19,000 were sent through me to the yellow fever sufferers. . . . Beside I have received very generous donations to expend on the Diocese at large."

On May 13th, 1888, Bishop Weed visited Sarasota; he preached and confirmed one. On the 14th, he confirmed three at Bradentown. On the 15th, he celebrated the Holy Communion and confirmed one at Fogartyville; that evening, he preached at Palma Sola. He was at Dunedin on the 17th; and confirmed one. On the 21st of June, he held a service at Carrabelle and preached. The Church at Marianna was consecrated by him on January 8th, 1889.

The Reverend Mr. Carpenter reported "much earnestness and activity" in the Indian River country, but a cry for more men and temporal aid to sustain them. "At Titusville a beautiful church has been completed, and funds obtained for the erection of a comfortable rectory. A well ordered Sunday School has been established, and the young

¹³⁸*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1888.*

men of the town are manifesting a most gratifying interest in the work of the Church. . . . About \$400 has been already pledged towards maintenance of a settled clergyman, and by uniting this mission with Rockledge and Cocoa below, a permanent clergyman could be comfortably supported." His account is very important, as the scene of his labours has developed into one of the most widely known areas in the United States.

"Opposite Titusville, on the Banana River, is the settlement of Canaveral. A competent lay reader has been appointed for this point, and there is prospect of rapid increase. On Merritt's Island, about fifteen miles below Titusville, is the mission of Courtney, whose whole history is a continual record of hardship, self-denial and faith. A comfortable Church building has been completed at this point, to the great joy of a faithful people, and frequent services are held.

"The next point is Cocoa. The work in this attractive mission has been before referred to. A sweet toned bell has been given this mission, a faithful lay reader holds weekly service. . . . Merritt is a settlement opposite Cocoa. There are about nine communicants here who attend service in Cocoa when the wind is suitable. They have already raised somewhat towards a Church of their own, which can ultimately be served from Rockledge.

"Melbourne, with its pretty Church and furnished Rectory, is the next important point. The Rev. Dr. (William Porcher) DuBose, of the University of the South, kindly gave his vacation to this point last winter. . . .

"Communicants of the Church are found settled along the whole length of the river, specially at Micco, St. Sebastian, Fort Paine, Eden and the Narrows. These are visited by me as often as occasion will permit. Lake Worth is the last point upon the coast where the Church has a foothold. The Rev. Mr. Mulford has done efficient work this past winter. A neat Church has been erected, and by the liberal generosity of Mrs. Lucy Boardman a comfortable rectory will soon be completed.

"Three years ago there was not one place of worship on this whole coast; now there are five church buildings, with three rectories provided for."¹³⁹

When Bishop Weed addressed the Council in 1890, he spoke of the removals and deaths of the past two years in consequence of the epidemic, "so that the clergy in the Diocese have had double work to do." In spite of the shortage of men, there has been growth. A few years ago, there was not a church building in many miles of Eustis, in the lake region. In 1890, there were churches at Chetwynd, Montclair, Leesburg, Eustis, Pittman, Lane Park, and Zellwood—eight in all. A

¹³⁹*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1889.*

Church had been erected at Brooksville. "The Dean of the Southern Convocation remembers how, a few years ago, he began clearing in the wilderness. Now in that region, we have churches at Dunedin, Clearwater, Wilhelmsburg on the Manatee, Tampa, Thonotosassa, Fort Meade, and Acton. Soon will there be a Church at Kissimmee and at Bartow." In the western part of the state, the Church at Quincy was well underway; and good work was being done at Chipley. "There is a fair prospect of having a Church building erected at DeFuniak, which is a rapidly growing town." Encouraging reports have come from Wewahitchka and St. Andrew's Bay. Apalachicola has grown into a prosperous city of four thousand inhabitants.

"In the building of new railroads . . . the population of some places has undergone a great and serious change. Among these may be mentioned Fairbanks, Balmoral and Hawthorne. But these places are few in number. Some of the places which two years ago seemed about to become deserted villages, have in the past six months shown an astonishing amount of vitality."

On November 15th, 1889, the Bishop accepted the application of Holy Trinity, Conway, to become a mission; on the 29th of December, he consecrated the Church at Picolata.¹⁴⁰

Twenty-three clergymen were present at the Council in Pensacola, May 6-7-8th, 1891. The reports indicated continued growth; a new Church building available at Merritt, on the Indian River; a beautiful Church completed at Kissimmee; the Church of the deserted village of Acton transplanted to Lakeland, and in use there; a small Church in process of building at Punta Gorda; Narcoossee, with funds nearly sufficient for building a good church. "Narcoossee is essentially an English colony, where English customs prevail and prayers for the Queen and Royal Family are said with those for our own civil authority." It was apparent that the demands were too great for one Bishop to fulfil; and, after careful consideration, a Committee on the Division of the Diocese (the Reverend Albion W. Knight, the Reverend J. H. Weddell, the Reverend J. H. Davet, and Messrs. W. K. Hyer of Pensacola and D. A. Finlayson of Live Oak) recommended the adoption of a memorial to the General Convention, to fix the southern boundary of the Diocese on the south lines of the counties of Levy, Alachua, Putnam, and St. John's. Furthermore, the territory south of the said line was to be ceded to the General Convention, for the creation of a missionary jurisdiction. "It is time that the older settled portion of the state be occupied with missions," the report declared; "but this cannot be done

¹⁴⁰*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1890.*

so long as the necessity of caring for what has already been established remains so great. . . . The planting of the Church in the new field brings with it an increasing care and attention."¹⁴¹

On the first day of the General Convention held in Baltimore, October 5th, 1892, Major Fairbanks presented the memorial of the Diocese of Florida; and the same was referred to the Committee on New Dioceses. On the eighth day, October 13th, the Committee reported favourably. The two Houses concurred. Thus the division of the Church's work in the state was ratified; and the missionary jurisdiction of Southern Florida came into being.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹*Diocese of Florida: Council Journal, 1891.*

¹⁴²*Journal of the General Convention, P. E. Church, 1892, pp. 176, 264.*

REMINISCENCES OF ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE,
BISHOP OF WESTERN NEW YORK
1565-1596

IN the writings of the Fathers one finds, very rarely, anything more gratifying to devout curiosity than what St. Augustine says of Milan in the days of St. Ambrose. Jerome's reference to the catacombs is full of interest. But, as belonging to the very earliest period of Christian history, I know nothing so touching as what Irenaeus relates, in words too few, of holy Polycarp, the martyr. Reproving Florinus, he says: "I saw thee in Lower Asia, with Polycarp, in the royal court, striving to gain his approval. I have a more vivid recollection of what occurred at that time than of events more recent: forasmuch as the experiences of childhood become incorporated with the soul, keeping pace with its growth. So I can even describe the place where the blessed Polycarp used to sit and discourse; also, his going out and coming in, his ordinary way of life and personal appearance, together with the homilies he delivered to the people. Moreover, I remember, how he would speak of his familiar intercourse with John, and how he would call to remembrance his words, and those of others who had seen the Lord."

Oh, dear and holy Irenaeus, why does thine account stop here and give us none of those details which might have thrown light on the gospels and the Apocalypse? Even so the Lord willed. This momentary uplifting of a curtain that veils the sub-apostolic age from our eye, seems rather to tantalize than to satisfy. But, it is very precious as far as it goes, and I never read it without thrills of mysterious satisfaction. I seem to see more than the mere glimpse it gives us of those primitive and faithful men: holy martyrs through whom we ourselves have received the Faith.

It has pleased God to spare me to threescore, and I observe a new generation about me, who know little of our own Church in its earlier days. It was then truly a little one; and its wonderful increase has, in some respects, diluted its spirit and obliterated its traditions. I am anxious to restore them, and to impart them to another generation, before I myself go the way of all the earth. So, if it please God, I purpose to put on record some perishing anecdotes of the past, and not a little of my own personal recollections.

I grew up in New York, where I saw the best days of Hobart, and

daily mingled with those who knew him most intimately. No matter how it so happened that a boy, born in a "manse," should have taken to the Church and her blessed ways, even from his nursery; but so it was in the providence of God. In that nursery, I learned the Church's catechism from the lips of a saintly mother; and under the first instructions of a pious and learned father, who imparted to me a knowledge of the Scriptures and a love for sacred literature, I also learned that delight in Church history and that reverence for the great restorers of the Church of England which have shaped my whole life. Such influences, and the society in which I lived, largely made up of kindred and friends who had been born and bred in the Church's fellowship, gave me good opportunities for satisfying my thirst for information about all its concerns. From my seventh year, I was an enthusiast in my inquiries and observations. Only a few of our fathers now in the House of Bishops have seen the older bishops who framed our constitutions and organized our American Church. I shall ever thank God that I have seen Bishop White, and have reverently held in my hands the relics of Seabury; which I helped to place in the coffin. With his worthy successor, Bishop Williams, I laid his bones in his sepulchre and covered them over with slabs of stone, under St. James' Church, in New London.

If only my recollections may supply one link in the train of our American traditions, I shall be grateful to God. For a bishop about to enter upon the fifteenth year of his episcopate, and who must soon be gathered to his fathers, it can hardly be thought inappropriate thus to converse with his own diocese, in his own little monthly record of pastoral work. What he writes is not designed for general circulation; on the contrary, it is talk with one's folk at home. But, possibly, in another generation, it may occasionally supply biographers and historians with the means of adding interest to their own nobler labors.

My next contribution to this series will be an anecdote which I have never seen in print, nor heard, save from one eye-witness. It is a remarkable incident which occurred at Bishop Hobart's consecration.

At the consecration of Bishops Hobart and Griswold, May 29, 1811, an incident occurred which bred not a little inquiry and discussion at the time among divers schools of Churchmen. Bishop White forgot the concluding words of the formula of consecration in both cases, and failed to say: "In the Name of the Father," etc. The question was raised: "Was this consecration valid?" and much anti-quarian learning was called forth, not without advantage to the mind of the Church, to which such discussions were then quite novel. It was soon settled that the bishops were already bishops when this accident

occurred, the first words of the formula having imparted the episcopal character sufficiently and completely, without the residue; which, although solemn and appropriate, is merely a liturgical complement, or what the lawyers call surplusage.

I was talking this over once with my venerated friend, Dr. Wyatt, of Baltimore, and expressing my suspicion that Bishop White's memory was affected by the little question that had been agitated as to which of the bishops-elect were entitled to be first consecrated; a question he had settled in favour of Dr. Hobart, because he was the older Doctor of Divinity. This, Bishop White said, was the rule of the archbishops of Canterbury; but many thought he should have consecrated Dr. Griswold first, because he had been the first elected. The little agitation thus excited, I thought, might have operated, at the moment, to disturb the entire self-possession of the venerable Presiding Bishop as he proceeded to the act of laying-hands. Dr. Wyatt said, "but there was another disturbing cause;" he added: "I was present and recollect all the circumstances." As near as I can recall Dr. Wyatt's story it was as follows:

"Bishop Provoost was depended upon as the second bishop, Bishop Jarvis being the third: but Bishop Provoost was very ill and had for some time been unable to attend divine service in public. In fact, he was not present at the earlier part of the service, but presented himself, in due time, for the consecration, looking very feeble and haggard, almost corpse-like. So, when the moment came for him to take part in the imposition of hands, he was apparently unable to come forward, where the bishops-elect were kneeling. Bishop White, with Bishop Jarvis, advanced and laid hands upon Dr. Hobart; but the Presiding Bishop, probably closing his eyes for the better control of his thoughts at such a moment, did not observe that Bishop Provoost had remained in his chair. He was therefore just about to begin with the words of consecration, when a sonorous voice was heard—'*Wait!* or *Stop!*'—I can't say which. A pause ensued, very solemn and impressive. The venerable Provoost tottered forward, assisted by some of the clergy, and stretched forth his hands, laying them on the head of Dr. Hobart, when the solemnity was duly proceeded with."

This disturbance, Dr. Wyatt thought, might well account for the momentary agitation of the Presiding Bishop, which led him to forget the concluding words of the formula.

I thought so too, but suggest what I have seen good reason since for regarding as a very important maxim: "No bishop should

ever trust his memory in the act of ordaining; he should read the formula from the book." I well remember the solemn effect with which Dr. Wainwright opened and held the book, before Bishop Griswold, when he consecrated Dr. Lee, of Delaware, in St. Paul's Chapel, New York.

I said to Dr. Wyatt, "Do you recollect who it was that cried out '*Wait?*' "

"Yes," he answered, "it was the celebrated Dr. Gardiner, of Trinity Church, Boston, and just like him."

* * * * *

Truly out of "weakness we have been made strong," and we owe it largely to the new era which Bishop Hobart established in the American Church. Such let us call it; for all Christians belong to one Church, if they only knew that such is their happiness.

Think of that epoch, 1811, when Hobart and Griswold were consecrated. The triennial convention had just met; only two bishops present, and it adjourned in four days. The entire clergy-list contained but 178 names; though Virginia and Delaware were too feeble to report, and hence are not included. The great diocese of New York numbered 44 clergy. Father Nash—whose work is described in Cooper's "Pioneers"—reigned over Otsego County, and all Western New York was under one faithful pioneer, the Rev. Davenport Phelps. And yet the diocese had three bishops, all at one time: a sign of anything but strength. The aged Bishop Provoost had resigned, and was in his dotage. Bishop Moore was the diocesan, but was unable to leave his bed-chamber. The young coadjutor-bishop started under every disadvantage of such a position, intensified by the fact that some still regarded Bishop Provoost as the diocesan. A seed-plot of nettles soon broke into full bearing, and Bishop Hobart was forced, at the very outset of his career, to encounter an opposition which seemed animated by nothing so much as "envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness." For at least 18 years his life was a contest; some who should have sustained him falling away, or even enrolling themselves against a great catholic prelate full of the primitive spirit, and anxious to place everything in the poor afflicted Church on the basis of what he called—somewhat clumsily, perhaps—"evangelical truth and apostolical order." Heartily, were they ashamed of themselves when the good man came to die; then all were anxious to establish a claim to have been his friends. His successor was triumphantly elected, simply because he had been a faithful supporter of his bishop; and much abler men found themselves, deservedly, nowhere, because they had been, if not factious and disorderly, still precisely of the class

described by Solomon, when he says: "Confidence in an unfaithful man is like a broken tooth or a foot out of joint." Such is the moral which one learns from those days when all that has created these five dioceses was constantly opposed and spoken against.

Let nothing revive the unworthy memory of those who made the troubles to which we refer. Bishop Provoost lingered on till 1815, and dear good Bishop Moore followed him in less than six months. It was not until 1816 that the episcopate of Bishop Hobart became that of a diocesan. His sermon at the funeral of his predecessor was on the "state of the departed," and attracted much attention at the time.

Of course, I never knew Bishop Moore, but it was my happiness to know, very well, his venerable relict, and to learn much of his character in early intercourse with the charming family of his son, the late Clement C. Moore, of New York—one of the noblest specimens of Christian layman which this Church has ever produced. I recollect the beautiful old family-seat, then far away from the city, its lawn sloping down to the Hudson, and embowered in trees. The seminary was built upon a portion of this estate, given to the Church for the purpose, by this excellent son.

Bishop Moore visited Western New York, and consecrated, I think, the old church at Geneva. I found some old Churchmen who remembered him when I first came into the diocese. He was always spoken of with reverence, and I have always entertained for his pure memory a sincere and affectionate regard.

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THE CHURCHES IN OLD NEW YORK.

When I first began to open mine eyes upon New York, St. John's Chapel was the noblest of our churches, and its beauty of situation upon Hudson Square gave it an incomparable advantage. That square, with the charming enclosure which we called "St. John's Park," was the most pleasing spot in the city for dwellings. The enclosure was kept under lock and key and was a favorite resort for children. On the fine afternoons of spring and the autumn many a happy hour have I spent there with my young mates. Now, all is changed; an odious eye-sore disfigures the scene. One only preferable quarter might be named, but it was even then too far down town. That was the Battery—quiet and shaded with old trees and looking out over that bay of charms—then adorned by so many sails, and free from the smoke and ugliness of steamers. The Chiaja of Naples is not more delightful; and there, were New Yorkers wise, their noblest dwellings would even now be

placed. But this delightful scene, which God has made such a gift to the people, is disfigured with the unpardonable abominations of elevated railway tracks and all manner of unsightly nuisances.¹

Passing up from the Battery you came to the crouching and tasteless fabric called "Grace Church," doubtless from the spiritual perfections within, for it had no external graces to boast of. And it used to puzzle me, as a boy, to imagine why such a church should have been built only about thirty feet from Trinity churchyard, and within pistol-shot of that dignified pile. But so it was, and those who enjoyed the ministrations of Dr. Wainright, its rector, thought they had good reason to sustain it. Trinity came next, and looked grand in the contrast. It had pointed windows, and was supposed to be Gothic. Its tall tapering spire, shingled and painted white, was in good-keeping with the architecture, and the general effect of the structure in its ample churchyard was very pleasing. But a quarter of a mile further up Broadway brought us to dear old St. Paul's Chapel, not so costly nor so large as St. John's, but greatly superior to it for comely proportions and its unrivalled symmetry of spire. No steeple in those days was other than white. It had a mysterious charm for me, with its orientation; the tower and spire seeming to be at the wrong end. One enters it from Broadway, at the rear; its front is towards the Hudson, and opens on the churchyard. Very creditably has the architect managed this peculiarity: and while it is but a copy of Wren's London architecture, it is far superior to anything of the kind in London. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, which it somewhat resembles, cannot be compared with it. The figure of St. Paul which adorns the pediment gave Whitefield occasion for his jest: "Poor apostle! I wish they would not turn you out of doors, as well as me!" To this chapel Washington repaired, with the great men of his day, in procession, immediately after taking the oath as first President; a refreshing example soon lost sight of by his successors. And here he is said to have been an occasional communicant, as well as a constant attendant. Old people remembered him as remaining when non-communicants withdrew, and this was commonly reported in New York. During his official life he dropped habitual communion, from false view of duty; but, I think it sufficiently proved that he was a communicant at a time when he thought less seriously on the subject.

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Other prominent churches were St. George's, in Beekman Street, originally a chapel of Trinity; Christ Church, in Anthony Street, just off Broadway; St. Stephen's, a little aside from the Bowery, near Grand

¹St. John's was later demolished.

Street; and St. Mark's, far out in the country, and often called the "Stuyvesant Church." On the other side of the city, in "Greenwich Village," as we called it, was snug little St. Luke's with a tower, but no spire, and surrounded by a trim enclosure, with its parsonage. This was a church which became very dear to me. And all these I knew, inside as well as out, from my childhood. And let me not forget Zion Church, far over to the east, and All Saints in the same distant regions. The French Church (du St. Esprit) I have not forgotten, but reserved for my last remarks. It looked somewhat like a French chateau, and stood in a churchyard on Nassau Street, but was entered from Pine Street, just opposite where now stands the Custom House. Nobody could look at it without thinking of the Edict of Nantes; and many were the graves of the old Huguenots which were gathered under its shadow.

These were all the churches, if I am not mistaken, which we had in New York in 1825, or about that date.

Christ Church was originally in Ann Street, a very shabby neighbourhood; but I only recollect it there as it appeared after its sale to the Romanists, when it was a poor sort of fabric without and within.

And now as to interiors. I do not remember that any of these churches had well-defined chancels, with the exception of St. Paul's. Most of them were copies of old Trinity. The chancel was behind the pulpit, at a little distance, and consisted of a mere inclosure for the altar, over which there was a great window of plain glass. The altars were covered with velvet, sometimes slightly embroidered, with I. H. S. on the frontal. But, even so, there was dignity about these chancels, and the alterations introduced by Bishop Hobart were as great a practical mistake as such a man could make; which I think I shall make clear by-and-by.

St. Paul's was the beauty among them all. When I first knew it the escutcheons had been removed, and the canopies taken away from the right and left aisles, where one pew had been reserved for the President of the United States, and another for the Governor of the State, and the National and State arms were displayed accordingly. They were now hung over the staircase to the north gallery, and I remember that General Montgomery's monument under the portico, and these insignia of the Government, gave me a sort of idea that St. Paul's was, in some sort, a national church, wholly unlike all others.

At the head of the middle alley, and very near you as one entered St. Paul's from Broadway, stood the desk and pulpit; the latter quite high, to command the galleries, and of beautiful proportions,

standing like a wine-glass on its stem, and overhung by a superb canopy. Over the preacher's head, on the ceiling of the canopy, was a gilded dove and glory; but above, on the arched top, was a Prince of Wales coronet and feathers, richly gilded. I suppose this was a relic of colonial times, but I fancy it is there to this day. Behind, in its dim recess, was the chancel. Montgomery's monument outside, by partially obscuring the east window had forced the contrivance of a rich effect inside; for over the altar stood the two tables of the Law; above which was displayed a Shekinah of glory, flanked by "tempest, fire and smoke," all wrought out with elaborate reliefs in stucco and with liberal gilding. I thought it a majestic altar. At its side, but very low down, was a little credence, which seemed as old as the church, and which was rubrically used, at least, on solemn occasions. The walls of this chancel were adorned with tablets to Bishop Inglis, Rip Van Dam and other worthies; and every word upon them I had spelled out and wondered over as very ancient, when I was very young.

A venerable lady, widely known in the Church, and enrolled among our "deaconesses," writes thus from Detroit:

"The Orbit informs me of the death of Mary Hobart whom I knew from her girlhood. * * * Your recollections of New York recall the past, most vividly. In St. John's Chapel, I received my first Communion, seventy years ago, from Bishop Moore, and there, the same year (1809) I was afterwards married. I recall the beautiful park and adjacent dwellings, now so dreadfully transformed. Also, the old Grace Church, with its rector on Rector Street, opposite Trinity churchyard. * * * The descendants of those old Church families are widely scattered in this changeful world, but memory, in a wonderful manner, makes the long past seem present."

Few, now living, have such memories of our first bishops as this lady: few have enjoyed so much of their acquaintance. She has known more or less of the entire American succession. We are glad to find our "Recollections" stirring up something like a revival of old loves and loyalties in the Church.

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In those days old Trinity, with its two chapels, kept up a high standard of morning service on all feast days and the stationary days, as well as on special days in Lent. On Christmas Day, only one service; but two services on Good Friday, and sermons at each. Some of our churches were usually closed from Sunday to Sunday. Dr. Milnor, of St. George's, had a snug little chapel, where he felt at liberty to treat the rubrics with very slight respect, at his weekly

evening lecture, but he was, in other respects, an exemplary pastor, and to his lasting glory be it said that he was the first of the New York rectors, so far as I observed, to raise Holy Week into special importance and dignity, by continual services, and sermons on the Passion.

He was a very dignified old clergyman when I first knew him, and to the end of his days; at times an eloquent preacher and an admirable extemporaneous speaker. He was the head of the "Low Church" party, but without any suspicion of radicalism or latitudinarianism, another Legh Richmond, in his way. Dear old man! I was only seven years old when he read the burial service over my maternal grandmother, and never shall I lose the impression of his voice as he began the office—"I am the Resurrection." At the casting of the earth on the coffin, I trembled with a sense of awe never felt before; and often afterwards I followed funerals for no other purpose than to see that simple ceremony and to hear those sublime words. Dr. Milnor was a personal friend of my father's, and his kindness to me was very marked after I took holy orders, so that I loved him dearly and sorrowed when he rested from his labours.

Fortunately, I never learned any other catechism than that of the Church, and as Mrs. Sherwood's "Stories on the Catechism" was the chief book in my nursery literature, I gained many good ideas about sponsors, and churchmanship of a certain kind out of that book, and from the explanations always tenderly given to my inquiries by the best of theological elementarians, a saintly mother. Thus prepared, I kept my first Christmas at old St. Paul's, in 1824, when Dr. Schroeder officiated and preached. The musical parts of the service pleased me, and so did the evergreens, somewhat more scantily bestowed about the chapel than I have seen in other years. But, the great square pew in which I was placed was a miserable pen for my active disposition. I could see nothing till the clergyman mounted the pulpit. In those days all the clergy wore black silk gloves in the pulpit, and funerals kept them well supplied with such embellishments. It was usual, however, to clip off the tips of the gloves, on the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, which enabled his reverence to turn the leaves of his sermon. This, naturally, looked odd to a child. Dr. Hawks was the first, I think, to get rid of gloves, and his example was immediately followed by almost all the clergy. Of late, "the spruce bands" have disappeared in like manner.

Of course, I did not appreciate Dr. Schroeder's sermon. He was just then the popular preacher of New York. People had a rage to hear him for a time; but it proved a very short-lived and capricious

example of popular favour. He was, nevertheless, an excellent pastor and as accomplished scholar. He had a Bible-class for ladies, and he attended to catechising. I was sometimes present at his catechisings in St. Paul's, where he explained to me the Hebrew letters of the ineffable name over the altar, in kind compliance with my childish curiosity. Let me never forget how much compliances do to interest and attract the minds of the young.

One word, once and for all, about gown, cassock, bands and a pulpit of the old wine-glass pattern. I am persuaded that we have suffered a great loss by the disuse of these things. We have gained, vastly in giving its due honour to the altar, but we have debased preaching and greatly injured the standard of the preacher. In those days when the function of the ambassador was denoted to the eye as evidently as that of the priest, it was not so easy as now to slight the sermon. The man of God laid aside his sacerdotal attire and resumed it significantly; and the office of preaching the word was magnified, as he stood before us in his pulpit, which is a relic of the primitive ambon, attired in his cassock, girdle and gown, which the Orientals have used for ages, and which they justly esteem the original clerical costume. The Bishop of Lincoln identifies this gown with the *pallium* defended by Tertullian, and the Greeks consider the cassock a copy of the seamless tunic of Christ, in its general pattern. *Non nobis tantas*, etc. Only, I predict that when good sense shall restore the use of this most ancient attire and give us back our pulpits, we shall find that preaching will regain its power. Not that I would confine the preacher to his pulpit, much less to his gown; but, educating him to his function by the use of both, I would enable him to make all the more emphatic his exceptional freedoms, in preaching from the chancel, without manuscript. Such freedoms, would, then, indicate a genuine earnestness and could not be made the refuge of indolence.

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There was a stair-case outside of St. Stephen's Church that went up into a sort of balcony erected inside, and hanging like a private box upon the eastern wall, south of the altar. The story was, that in the time of the fervidly eloquent Dr. Moore, afterward bishop of Virginia, a passionate admirer, who couldn't get a pew in St. Stephen's, obtained leave to erect this odd box for himself and family. I have sometimes thought it must have inspired Bishop Hobart with his one mistake in practical matters; for like this box was the pulpit he now contrived and brought into use in New York. In true American fashion the novelty took people's fancies, and it swept throughout the diocese, and transformed our fabrics throughout the land.

I recollect the time when St. John's Chapel was deformed by the new use. A huge desk, in front of which was placed a diminished and very undignified altar, encircled with rails that described a "Kidney-shaped" curve from the ends of the huge desk aforesaid, was the conspicuous feature of the improvement, or it would have been, but for the pulpit that loomed above, entered by a door behind. To a child, the pulpit without stairs to reach it was a curiosity: but, when the back of the pulpit flew out, and entered the black-robed preacher, who had just vanished from the desk in a surplice, it was a most pleasing surprise. Just like the wall that opened so often in the "Arabian Nights," so it struck me, and it pleased me vastly. Novelties please children, and I was delighted.

If I remember correctly, this was the first example, but the splendors of this sort of effect came out only when St. Thomas' was built. This was "the Gothic Church," so-called, and how magnificent it appeared to me. While it was going up on Broadway, just one mile from the city hall—the first milestone stood just about a couple of rods to the south—I was struck by the picturesque appearance; it looked like a sort of castle with its two towers and its stone walls. When finished, however, I imagined it a small Westminster Abbey. I first saw its interior on Christmas Day, and it affected me more than the great cathedrals of Europe have ever affected me since. No galleries, and the wood-work of oak; the first oak-painted church I ever saw. The roof imitated an open roof very successfully, the great trusses between the bays being real, and ornamenting the walls with fine effect. The beautifully adorned pulpit hung upon the wall, with gorgeous canopy, and a niched doorway in the rear. Far up over it, under a rose-window, and occupying the triangle made by the open roof, was the organ-loft, from which the music came down with sweet influence and fine effect. The church was decked with evergreens, and, as I entered, Croswell's poetry best describes what I saw:

"The gentle evergreens they wreath
Through every hallowed fane,
A soft reviving odour breathe
Of summer's gentle reign;
And rich the ray of mild green light
That like an emerald's glow,
Comes straggling from the latticed height
Upon the crowds below."

Dear Cornelius Duffie! even now I see his comely and attractive face, and hear him as he read the Epistle—"God who at sundry times and

in divers manners," etc. Boy as I was, I felt how striking was that Scripture on a Christmas morning. I think this was the only Christmas he ever officiated there. I never saw him again. I was sent to a boarding-school in the country, and he died soon after. But one of my schoolmates was a kinsman of Duffie's, and often did we talk over his charming manner and his beautiful church. Of this church Dr. McVickar had the credit of furnishing the design, and it was a great move towards the creation of architectural taste. Dr. Hopkins gave the church a set of designs for Gothic-work of a similar sort, and though, when he became Bishop Hopkins, he was accustomed to laugh at them, they were a step to better things.

And now that the three-deckers are gone from our churches, let us reflect on the real merit that was at the foundation of Bishop Hobart's contrivance. That great prelate subjected everything to his thought of getting the Church in all her beauty before the eyes of men, hoping so to win their hearts. He objected, therefore, to the prevailing plan of St. Paul's and other chancels behind desk and pulpit; for this arrangements hid the Church's offices. One could not see the priest at the altar, nor the bishop in confirmation. How could such solemnities, like a candle under a bushel, convey any light to the eyes or affect men's minds? Thus the object was excellent, though the contrivance was bad; for it dwarfed the altar and unduly displayed the preacher, as if the sermon were the great thing instead of public worship. No doubt the restoration of chancels as now prevalent would be just what the bishop preferred above all; but I am sure this other extreme of having no pulpits at all would not have met his approval. Much less would he have fancied the "few remarks" from the lectern, which are so often made to do duty where an honest sermon is fairly due to "the hungry sheep." But we Americans never know how to stop till improvement swings to the opposite extreme and oscillates to and fro for a time in defiance of equilibrium and the perpendicular. The poor property-man at the opera was so tickled with the success of his morning-gun, which the audience applauded, that he encored himself, and kept on firing morning-guns till the music was spoiled and the frantic manager rushed in, threshing the fellow for his pains and crying—"Hang you, can't you take a good idea without working it to death?" All which is *apropos* of many excellent devices, such as processional, recessional, homages, reverences, anthems and the cornet *obligato* in choirs. But, after all, *ne quid nimis*. One can't make his dinner on charlotte-ruches and water-ices, nor even on melons and strawberries. Give us a little old-fashioned roast beef for a *piece de resistance* and then serve up your entremets and delicacies for those

whose palates they please, and whose healthy digestion they do not wholly confound.

* * * * *

Bishop Hobart was rector of Trinity Church as well as bishop of the diocese, and I used to observe the good taste which led him to appear in episcopal robes only when he had episcopal functions to perform. Shakespeare is good authority for high-tone in such a matter:

“Thus did I keep my person fresh and new,
My presence like a robe pontifical
Ne’er seen but wondered at.”

I doubt whether the perpetual use of episcopal vestments, on all occasions, is in keeping with the spirit of our office, or with practical wisdom; but, on this point, it will not do to be dogmatical. Only I have observed in foreign churches, as well as our own, that there is high example on my side.

To see Bishop Hobart ministering in his surplice, and preaching in his gown, cassock and bands, was always pleasing to my fancy. Such is the beauty of simplicity, even to a child’s mind.

Often have I been at the week-day prayers, in St. John’s, when he officiated. On Saints’ Days he lectured sometimes; I remember his doing so once on St. Matthias’ Day. Besides the children of Trinity School, there were not a score of persons present—all women, some of them of very humble appearance. Little did the good bishop imagine that the boy in a corner who helped to swell the responses would, one day, succeed to his labours in Western New York and would write these reminiscences.

My way to school, while I yet went to a dame’s school, led me to pass St. John’s every morning; and there I sometimes saw the bishop, in his garden, admiring the plants, for he was very fond of flowers and of nature in all her pleasant forms, displaying the glory of God. This, also, impressed me with a sense of his pure and refined tastes.

I remember a sermon he once preached in St. Paul’s, on the text, from Habbakuk, “Although the fig-tree shall not blossom,” etc. But, a truly interesting occasion, when he preached a memorable sermon, and when I first saw him in his robes, was that of the institution of Dr. Upfold, as the successor of my favourite Duffie, in St. Thomas’. This sermon did not please the low-church brethren, but my venerated father, who was present, remarked that “it was the unquestionable doctrine of the Church of England which, as a bishop, he was consistently maintaining.” It was on this occasion that I first heard of

the "Apostolic Succession," which my father kindly explained to me as the ground-work of the bishop's argument.

Some of my playmates were members of St. Thomas', and so I was not infrequently an attendant there during Dr. Upfold's incumbency. He had previously been rector of St. Luke's, and there he had seemed to me in his proper place; but I could not be satisfied with him in the place of Mr. Duffie. I often think of the strong personal interest which a clergyman may inspire in the mind of the young, when I reflect on these impressions of my boyhood so casually produced.

When Bishop Hobart went to Europe, it occasioned much talk and attention; for foreign travel was then, comparatively, an infrequent incident in clerical and episcopal life. One of my tutors composed an acrostic, which was published on the occasion, and which, so far as I can recollect, was nearly as follows:

"H obart the great, the learned and the good,
O n favouring winds is borne across the flood:
B orne, too, in hearts, and in his people's prayers,
A s one who always their affection shares.
R eturn, O God, this shepherd to our land
T o guide the Church with consecrated hand."

But some cried out against this as fulsome adulation: for the bishop had enemies as well as friends.

I followed Bishop Hobart's funeral from St. John's to Trinity Church. What a sensation was made by the circumstances of his death! I do not recollect anything like it in the history of the American Church. There were no railways, nor telegraphs in those days; but the news came that the bishop had fallen ill at Auburn, and then, like a thunder-clap, that he was dead. Everybody felt it—not Churchmen only, for Hobart was one of the pillars of social life in New York, and was everywhere recognized as the most active prelate of the Church; in fact, he was its representative bishop before the country, and admired by all for his consistent and faithful devotion to the interests and to the standard theology of the Church to which he devoted all his energies.

And so it seemed as if everybody attended the funeral. The gowned faculty and students of Columbia College added to its dignity. The Dutch and Presbyterian pastors of the city were in the procession in a body, and all the respectability of New York turned out to honour this great champion of the Faith. The coffin was borne on the shoulders of eight men, who were relieved at intervals by eight

others, taking it by turns. The pall covered the men as well as the coffin, and it had tassels in the old fashion, which were held by the pall-bearers, who were venerable clergymen in gowns, cassocks, bands and black gloves. We see no more such decent funerals. This was the most dignified one New York ever saw, in my young days. Its grand military funerals were vulgar in comparison. As the solemn march passed down Broadway a company of soldiers, accidentally encountered, opened and presented arms, standing still till the long procession went by. It was nightfall when it reached Trinity Church. I can see the twinkle of its candles and hear the solemn swell of its organ even now.

* * * * *

Speaking of candles, it may be worth while recalling, some day, that Trinity Church, St. Paul's and St. George's, and several others, were adorned with chandeliers of cut-glass and lighted by candles throughout, pulpit-lights included. The effect was very brilliant, and, for one, I can't understand how they managed the candles, which seemed always to burn with steady lustre, never melting and dripping, as they are wont to do, in our houses. The modern gas-burners are convenient, but can never beautify a church as did the old chandeliers.

It pleases me to hear from old friends of Bishop Hobart who yet survive, that I am carrying them back to scenes and experiences which they recall with no ordinary pleasure; and not less to be told by younger men that they are glad to learn something from such incidents as I am here recording, of the personal appearance and ways of one whose fame is so fresh and whose influence is so lasting in the Church; while his published sermons and the "Memoirs" that have appeared, fail to give the secret of his magnetic power over his contemporaries. I, therefore, devote another paper to some anecdotes of Hobart.

Almost one of the last things the bishop did was to write a brief but very beautiful letter of condolence to George Griffin, an eminent lawyer of New York, on the death of his young and gifted son, Edmund, who died soon after taking deacon's orders. Mr. Griffin, the father, was a Presbyterian of great respectability, nearly related to the president of "Williams College," who made a great figure in those days. Few young men have ever entered our ministry with such brilliant prospects as were those of Edmund. Columbia College has rarely turned out a youth of more splendid promise. His taking orders was a great disappointment to Presbyterians; they felt that Columbia College was robbing them of their brightest ornament; and

this feeling resulted in the foundation of the University, in which the Reformed Dutch gained a predominant influence, though Dr. Milnor and, for a time, Dr. Wainwright lent it a strong support, on the ground that the university was a need of the "metropolis," such as the restricted charter of Columbia could not supply. Considering the high and liberal academic system with which it began, it is marvelous that Presbyterians have suffered it to decline, though, even now, it has a highly dignified and vigorous intellect at its head; while they have given even millions to Princeton and other external colleges. I venture to add that it is even more marvellous that Columbia, with its princely endowment, has never "magnified its office," and made itself to New York what Harvard is to Boston. Some of the most vigorous blows of Bishop Hobart in the last year of his life were dealt at this University project, which he had the mortification of finding patronized by some of his own clergy and laity. It was, indeed, promoted by eminent men, and John Quincy Adams presided over a convention of scholars which was twice called together to frame a true university system suited to America. If Bishop Hobart had been spared I have thought a powerful impulse would have been given to the development of Columbia, and that Edmund Griffin would have incidentally bequeathed a brilliant career to his *Alma Mater*.

But hardly had the bishop written to condole with the family on Edmund's death—the ink of that touching letter was hardly dry—when the death of the bishop himself was announced. It was an event which obliterated all thoughts of the gifted young deacon, and Griffin has not been remembered in the Church, as, otherwise, he must have been.

The last time I saw Bishop Hobart was in the Easter season of the year in which he died, when he presided in St. John's Chapel at the annual gathering of Sunday school children. A presbyter preached, but the bishop presided. I seem now to see him, as he knelt at the altar, uttered the concluding prayers in the quick nervous tone so peculiar to him, and then gave the blessing. Though, like Archbishop Laud, almost diminutive in stature, he made a commanding figure when officiating. He always seemed to be a permanent figure of New York, and little did I dream I should never see him again. The next year, also, I was present at the gathering of children, and got my "book and cake" as I left the chapel. The book told us about the bishop's presence at the previous anniversary, and added: "When he died, he died like an Apostle." These words made a deep impression on my mind. Truly "words are things."

The "temperance movement" was just coming into vogue during

the bishop's last years. He died a martyr to his abstinence, as I shall relate; but, characteristically, he opposed the fanatical conduct of some of its first promulgators. They told a story about his wicked "opposition", which does him no discredit, though it was used to make him odious in the popular mind. Travelling on the Hudson, in one of the day-boats, he was seated at the dinner-table, which in those days, was always furnished with decanters—a "custom more honoured in the breach than in the observance." Suddenly, a strident voice was heard: "Waiter! take away those bottles." The startled negro hurried to comply, when he was arrested by another voice, saying, in a mild but firm tone: "You will please let the decanters alone; they are furnished for the public, and nobody has any right to order them off." The bishop afterwards remarked, in explanation: "It is not a question as to the use of liquors; it is an impertinent interference with the rights of passengers to judge for themselves; and, so long as the steamboat company furnish their tables in this way, I will not submit to have *the public liberty judged of any one man's conscience.*" I Cor. x, 29.

In yet another paper, I propose to tell the other side of the story; how the bold, uncompromising bishop could use his liberty to abstain, and gave up his life in order to avoid "the appearance of evil." The two anecdotes, together, lend a most important hint to the clergy, as to their duty, in our own times, and not with reference to temperance questions only.

* * * * *

The anecdote of Bishop Hobart which I subjoin was told of him soon after his death, but I never got a responsible voucher for it till I heard it—many years later—from the late Dr. Seabury. Even he could only give it as an *on dit*. I was, therefore, much pleased when I first came into Western New York, to hear it from an original witness—the late Mr. Pitkin—so long a warden of St. Luke's Church, Rochester. He told it in connection with an incident which shall be narrated as a preface to the more important narration that follows. He said, in substance, as follows:

"When Bishop Hobart officiated at St. Luke's for the last time, I observed that he was very feeble from the consequences of an illness which he invariably suffered as soon as he came upon the limestone regions of the State and began to drink the water. To counteract this, he had been accustomed to put a little brandy into his glass at dinner with good effect, and I attributed his exhaustion, at this time, to the fact that on this journey he had forborne to use the remedy.

He was, for him, very languid, and yet his nervous manner was conspicuously increased. We had a very slightly constructed font, which stood close to the chancel-rail, and as the bishop went around confirming, his lawn-sleeve caught the bowl and threw it over, breaking it to shivers. Though not superstitious," Mr. Pitkin added, "I felt, for a moment, that it was an unpleasant omen; the bishop seemed to be destroying himself like that fragile vessel."

"After the service I remonstrated with him, and told him he was going beyond his strength. In particular, I advised him not to omit the accustomed tablespoonful of brandy at dinner, which I thought would correct an irritation of the stomach that was daily growing worse. The bishop replied that, as he had told me before, he felt it desirable for the Church's credit that he should not be charged with indulgence at a time of such popular excitement on the subject. Brandy was no more furnished at ordinary meals; to send for it was unpleasant, and to send for it *for the bishop's use* might create a scandal. In behalf, therefore, of his hospitable friends, at whose houses he was entertained, he had resolved not to touch brandy on this journey. He hoped to discover that he could do without it. He had fortified himself before setting out with other remedies, and he was resolved to trust to them till he should reach home. I told him that I feared he might not reach home, and he answered, with a characteristic energy, 'then I will die.' And so he did.

"He went, next day, by stage-coach to Canandaigua, and so by Geneva to Auburn. As I had foreseen, his disorder had run into dysentery, and at Auburn it reached its climax and killed him."

Thus his precious life was sacrificed by a heroic resolution not to compromise the character of a bishop by even the "appearance of evil," slight as was his respect for the measures and denunciations by which the temperance reformers were accustomed to enforce their just ideas of the sin of drunkenness and the perils of even moderate indulgence. Dr. Seabury called him the victim of a morbid popular feeling; at all events he was a martyr to his sense of duty. Perhaps nobody who does not remember the intense excitement of those days, and at the same time the prejudice encountered by Churchmen because they commonly took no part in the very questionable measures then adopted, can wholly estimate the degree of importance which Bishop Hobart attached to his resolve. Because he was independent of popular prescriptions, therefore, all the more he was unwilling to do violence to public opinion, so far as it was consistent with his own views of self-denial and pure example. "Giving none offence that the ministry be not blamed," is a text which may have powerfully in-

fluenced such a mind as Bishop Hobart's. Another excellent man and great bishop was very naturally led to think that Bishop Hobart carried his principle too far, and, in precisely similar circumstances, adopting another course, a habit grew upon him, imperceptibly, which led to the loss of his usefulness and to melancholy results, now matter of sad history. He mastered his evil habit with pious and steady devotion to self-conquest, which should ever endear him to the Church. But, when one contrasts his career with that of the heroic Hobart, it is not possible to feel otherwise than that if Hobart erred it was on the safer side, and that he has left to all his brethren in the episcopate a lofty example, by which, "being dead, he yet speaketh."

In Memoriam

GEORGE SHERMAN BURROWS

PRIEST. DOCTOR.

VALUED CONTRIBUTOR TO THIS MAGAZINE

BEGINNINGS IN ALASKA

By John W. Chapman

TO review the whole field of the early history of the work undertaken in Alaska by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church would take us beyond the scope of this article, which aims only at giving an account of the establishment of the first of our missions there.

This was in 1886, just ten years before the district received an episcopal visitation and when the initial rush of gold seekers to the Klondyke, in 1896, inaugurated a social revolution that has changed the complexion of civilization in the Yukon Valley.

The first of our missionaries to Alaska, the Reverend Octavius Parker of the diocese of California, went out like Abraham, not knowing whither he went. He had a field more than twice as large as Texas in which to operate, with the restriction that he should not interfere with the Presbyterians in southeastern Alaska. This did not tie him down too closely. To the northward there was still a range of more than a thousand miles in which to make the influence of the Church felt.

Some time before the appointment of Mr. Parker an appeal had been made to the Board of Missions by an officer of the United States Revenue Service. Commander Stockton, who had been appalled by the condition of the natives of the Behring Sea and the Arctic coast, arising from their contact with the crews of the whalers operating in that region, being a Churchman and a Christian gentleman took it for granted that the Church had a mission there. As a matter of fact, the Church has had a great deal to do with correcting the conditions which then existed along the Eskimo coast, but that came later. When Mr. Parker went out he was looking for an opening.

At that time the suzerainty of the whole of Alaska was vested in the Alaska Commercial Company. Their principal source of revenue was the fur industry and their principal trading station in the Behring Sea district was St. Michael.

In itself St. Michael is about as unattractive as a place of residence as any in Alaska, but it was headquarters of an extensive fur trade and the port where most of the scientific and exploring expeditions in the north were outfitted and from which they took their

departure. To it every spring came the great skin boats of the Behring Sea Eskimo, bringing great store of furs as well as whalebone and ivory for the trade in San Francisco and seal skins and huge sea lion skins bulging with oil and blubber for the local trade. To it also came the natives of the Yukon and the half dozen white traders who had stations on that great river at intervals of some four hundred miles. Each of the traders had one or more boats of from two or three to ten tons' capacity in which he drifted down to the mouth of the Yukon and then sailed northward along the coast to St. Michael, sixty miles distant, to exchange his furs for goods and credit with the Company. The return journey, with a cargo of supplies and trading goods for a year, would be made in tow of one of the Company's boats or of a small stern wheel steamer owned by one of the traders.

The Company had several boats, running to various points on the Alaskan coast. One of these went to St. Michael annually, to stock the Company stores there and to bring back the furs and other merchandise that had been accumulating since the visit of the previous year. This boat also brought the annual mail for the whole of the Behring Sea area. The mail was not a heavy one.

The Company was in Alaska to make money. The traders through whom its goods finally reached the native consumers were at considerable risk in prosecuting their business, and the normal rate of profit which they expected was one hundred per cent of the cost of the goods which they handled. The idea that the primitive people with whom they dealt through the medium of a jargon compounded of Russian with Indian or Eskimo would ever be able to make use of a mail order catalogue would probably have seemed fantastic to them, but some sense of an impending change made the Company agents restless in the presence of the missionary element. This was the time of the beginning of the successful introduction of the domestic reindeer by the Reverend Doctor Sheldon Jackson, of the Presbyterian Mission, and his influence with the United States Government together with his interest in the welfare of the natives had made him an object of jealous suspicion to the Company.

This, then, was the situation when Mr. and Mrs. Parker with their two young children and Mrs. McDowell, a friend of the Parkers, arrived at St. Michael in the summer of 1886. The Russian Church was already represented there and Mr. Parker was unable to formulate any plan for immediate action. He and his family were provided with accommodations in the Company's administration building and passed the winter in St. Michael. Mrs. McDowell died during the winter

and the consequent distress and the sense of isolation worked upon Mrs. Parker and made her homesick.

Their rooms were next to the offices of the Company and the walls were thin. Mr. Parker told the writer that he heard the Agent read instructions which he had received from the San Francisco office, to the effect that he was to show the missionary every courtesy and not let him succeed.

Inland, at a distance of approximately one hundred miles, the Yukon river runs parallel with the coast in a southerly direction past the latitude of St. Michael, continuing onward for some one hundred and fifty miles before it turns to the northwest to find its outlet in Behring Sea. The Indians of the Yukon had winter trails to the coast at various points, to facilitate trade with the Eskimo although there was a great deal of hostility between the two races. One of these trails led almost directly eastward from St. Michael and found its terminal on the Yukon at Anvik, where there was an Indian population of one hundred and fifty people. This was considered a large community for the Yukon, although the natives called St. Michael "The Big Place" on account of its economic importance, notwithstanding that it would hardly rate above Anvik in the census report.

Anvik had been a trading station and there was considerable winter intercourse between that place and St. Michael. At the moment the trader had left several good log cabins unoccupied and was living with his family at St. Michael. The winter habitations of the natives were all "dugouts", which have been sufficiently described by explorers. In comparison the log cabins were palatial. The largest of these was less than twenty-five feet square.

It must have been in April of 1887 that a party of Anvik Indians went to St. Michael on a trading expedition, where they met Mr. Parker. Learning of his intentions, they invited him to go back with them and look over their village in the hope that he would think best to establish a mission there. At that season sled travel is excellent. A few days sufficed for the journey and the return; and finding the trader, Mr. S. A. Fredericks, willing to dispose of the buildings Mr. Parker bought them for \$400. In this way the Board of Missions acquired its first holdings in Alaska.

It is not apparent that Mr. Fredericks took Mr. Parker into his confidence as to the reasons for his willingness to dispose of the buildings for so modest a sum; but a clue may, perhaps, be found in Lieutenant Schwatka's account of his visit to Anvik in the summer of 1883, while making a military reconnaissance of the Yukon. The account is given in his *The Great River of Alaska*.

It appears that he found Anvik in a state of considerable excitement. A party of natives had come down from the Innoko country, some two hundred miles distant, to meet a Russian priest from the lower Yukon and be baptized. These Innoko Indians were a hardy lot of moose hunters and it is evident that they became restless when the priest did not arrive as soon as expected. Feeling the need of excitement they made a plan to seize Mr. Fredericks and tie him up and loot his store. If he should offer too much resistance he was to be killed. The plot was discovered by the Anvik Indians, and when the Innokos attempted to carry it out they found themselves confronted by the Anvik men, armed. Schwatka says that they were baptized and went home vowing to come back and finish the job some other time. They did this a year or two before Mr. Parker's arrival in the country. The writer had an account of the looting of the store and the escape of the family from one of Mr. Fredericks' children, who told of making his way under cover of the bushes to the camp of the friendly Anvik people, more than a mile away.

We never learned who the individual marauders were; but the Innokos, as well as the Shagelukus whose villages lay to the east of Anvik, later became adherents of the mission.

The writer was the second to receive a commission to the Alaskan field, and finding Mr. Parker at St. Michael in the summer of 1887, it seemed good to us both to join our forces and to begin work at Anvik as soon as possible. Mrs. Parker and her children returned to California.

The agent of the Company sold us a boat in which to transport our supplies; and we made the journey to Anvik, the last of three boats in tow of a small steamer.

When we arrived the natives were busy about their summer salmon fishing. This is the great event of the summer, since it means security from starvation during the winter. Dried salmon is food for both men and dogs and is even more important to them than bread is to us, because it is more useful as a single article of diet.

The Anvik people received us gladly and from that time to the present they have continued to be firm adherents of the Mission. The same is true of the Shageluk people. Some of the Innoko natives have come down and mingled with the Shagelukus. Most of the remainder have been wiped out by drink.

When the Mission was established English was wholly unknown to the natives of the Yukon. A thousand miles farther up the river Archdeacon McDonald, of the Church of England, had made valuable translations for use in that region. The language is basically the same

as that at Anvik, but the dialects are so different that his translations were useless for us. Consequently it was necessary for us to learn enough of the Anvik dialect, which is widely used, to make sure that the translations which were later made should be correct. In this we had willing cooperation. Beginning with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed and the Ten Commandments, the list was finally extended to include the service of morning prayer and the gospels for all the Sundays and days of greater obligation of the Christian year. By this means we were able to provide for instruction and for public worship. This was accomplished before the first episcopal visitation, in 1896, and a class for confirmation was presented at that time.

A note of change had been struck within a year or two of the establishment of the mission, and this was the way of it. A half breed Russian trader had established himself in our neighborhood. Prices for fish and game were almost unbelievably low and we paid more than the trader thought was justified when we bought these things from the natives. A cup of tea weighing a quarter of a pound was valued at twenty-five cents, and that was what we paid for two grouse. Dennis—that was the trader's name—thought that this threatened the foundations of the existing social order. During the winter he and Mr. Chapman had occasion to be in St. Michael at the same time, to get supplies. At that time Mr. Henry Neuman was the Company agent. Mr. Neuman was a favorite with everyone, on account of his obliging disposition. He spoke both Russian and English, while Dennis could speak no English and Mr. Chapman could speak no Russian.

Dennis asked for an interview with Mr. Chapman in Mr. Neuman's presence. It should be noted that in the view of the half breed traders the Company represented the ultimate in authority.

Mr. Neuman began by saying that Dennis felt that we were paying the natives too much for the things that we bought from them, and that he wished that we would let him do the buying for us, and that we would find it to our advantage. Mr. Chapman asked whether Dennis complained that we had interfered with his fur trade. Dennis answered that he had no complaint to make on that score. Mr. Chapman then said, "I have bought one or two inferior skins for my own use, but I am not trading in skins and have no intention of doing so. I may have occasion to buy a very limited number of skins for my own use or for presents to personal friends. In that case I would prefer to buy them from the Company or its representative if I can get them at a reasonable price. Otherwise I shall get them wherever I

please. As for the grouse and rabbits, I prefer to get them directly from the natives."

Mr. Neuman repeated the message in Russian and then turned and said, "I told Dennis that I guess that the old times on the river have gone by".

Mr. Parker remained two years longer, in accordance with his agreement with the Board of Missions, and then rejoined his family in California; but before he left he had insisted on having Christian marriage instituted as the rule of life in that pagan community, and that has proved to be of enduring benefit and may be regarded as his monument.

Mr. Chapman went to the United States on his first furlough in 1893 and was married in that year. When he returned with Mrs. Chapman in 1894 they were accompanied by Deaconess Bertha Sabine and Dr. Mary V. Glenton. From that time until the recent drastic reduction in mission expenditures there has been a boarding school at the mission. The Reverend Henry H. Chapman was born at Anvik and is now the missionary in charge.

BOOK REVIEWS

They Were In Prison. A History of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1787-1937. By Negley K. Teeters. Introduction by Harry Elmer Barnes and a concluding chapter by Albert G. Fraser, Executive Secretary. 75 illustrations. 541 pages. Appendices, V. Bibliography. Index. The John C. Winston Co. Philadelphia. 1937.

They Were In Prison is an interesting account of the achievements of The Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons during the hundred and fifty years of its existence.

The Society was organized May 8, 1787, somewhat as an outgrowth of an earlier organization, The Philadelphia Society for Assisting Distressed Prisoners, established in 1776: at its centennial, in 1887, the title was changed to the Pennsylvania Prison Society, under which name it has continued its activities until now it has rounded out its sesqui-centennial. Many noted people have been prominent in its membership. Dr. Benjamin Rush was one of the organizers; Bishop White was its first president and continued in that capacity for 49 years, until his death, in 1836. Francis Fisher Kane is now president.

The need for such an association as this was occasioned by the unspeakable conditions existing in the Walnut Street Jail, where prisoners of all kinds and both sexes were herded together promiscuously—criminals of the worst type, untried prisoners, minors and debtors—though some effort was made to separate the latter class from the others. The preamble to the Constitution, after reciting the evils suffered by those unfortunate enough to be imprisoned, announces this guiding principle:

"By the aids of humanity, their undue and illegal sufferings may be prevented; the links which should bind the whole family of mankind together, under all circumstances, be preserved unbroken: and such degrees and modes of punishment may be discovered and suggested, as may, instead of continuing habits of vice, become the means of restoring our fellow creatures to virtue and happiness."

This principle of rehabilitation is the one fundamental that has influenced those most interested in penology and is today the basis of penal philosophy.

Parenthetically, it may be mentioned here that, while imprisonment for private debt was abolished in 1842, imprisonment for public debt still exists—that is to say, the magistrates have the power of imposing short terms of imprisonment for minor infractions of the law where the culprit is unable to pay an assessed fine.

From the first days of its existence, an acting committee from the membership of the Association, has been the functioning body. The members of the acting committee were charged with the duty of visiting the prisoners, maintaining contact with the authorities and originating recommendations for reform.

The assistance given in the beginning comprised principally food, clothing and blankets to relieve the distress of the prisoners. In the Walnut Street Jail

the daily allowance to persons committed for trial was only a half of a four-penny loaf, while those detained as witnesses had no allowance at all. No employment was provided and there was no way by which prisoners could secure relief for their distress except charity. No allowance whatever was made for imprisoned debtors. Robert Morris, the financier of the American Revolution, was imprisoned for debt in 1798, after unfortunate business ventures. In a letter from him to John Nicholson in February, 1798, he says: "Having no particular place allotted to me, I feel myself an intruder in every place in which I go. I sleep on other person's beds, I occupy other people's rooms."

The Englishman, John Howard, was probably the first major exponent of penal reform. Undoubtedly he had a decided influence in formulating the policies of The Philadelphia Society. In his observations throughout England he uncovered the sad plight of untried prisoners who were often allowed to languish for months in prison without relief or recourse to a determination of their guilt or innocence. The Philadelphia Society carried on an extensive correspondence with him and received much advice and encouragement from him and from his efforts.

From the first the main objective of The Philadelphia Society was solitary confinement, i. e., the strict segregation of one prisoner from another, so as to prevent evil associations which might continue after release. This was somewhat different in its objectives from that of the Massachusetts doctrine which was based on the idea that the criminal deserved no pity and that the more severe the punishment the more worthy the system. It was also different from that practiced in New York, known as the "congregate system", where prisoners were permitted to work in groups under strict supervision to prevent conversation or collusion, but were locked in separate cells at night.

When the Eastern Penitentiary was built, as an outcome of years of effort on the part of The Philadelphia Society, it was so designed that each prisoner had a cell to himself, so arranged that he could neither see nor communicate with any other prisoner. When he was committed, a hood was placed over his head in the warden's office and he was then led to his cell. Once there he worked, ate and slept alone. The ground floor cells had a small yard attached where the prisoner was permitted to exercise for a limited time each day; the upper cells were in pairs so that he might work in one and sleep in the other. "Solitary confinement", however, did not mean that he had no intercourse at all with his fellow men, for he had daily visits from the warders and frequent visits from members of the acting committee of The Philadelphia Society.

In the Eastern Penitentiary in the beginning no provision was made for furnishing the prisoners with employment and intercourse even with the keepers was extremely limited. It was soon found that this tended to produce melancholia and finally insanity; this inhuman treatment was later modified after much agitation and discussion.

It took nearly a hundred years to change the views of penal authorities to what they are at present: that crime is a species of disease and needs special study and special treatment. It has been proven that punishment does not reform or decrease crime. But, rather, an effort should be made to awaken the better instincts of the criminal and bring him back to normal manhood and to reestablish him in a place of organized society among his fellow beings when released. To this end a professionally trained psychological personnel is now employed in this work, although the acting committee has by no means ceased in its interest for and efforts in behalf of prisoners.

During the closing years of the last century it began to be recognized that

solitary confinement, as practiced in the Eastern Penitentiary, was no longer practicable. For one thing, overcrowding, as in the case of the old Walnut Street Jail, required placing more than one prisoner in each cell, and something more or less like the New York system was introduced. Prisoners now work, eat and have their exercise and recreation in groups and are only locked in their cells at night, except in certain cases of flagrant violations of the rules and regulations, rioting, etc. This idea has been further carried out in the new penitentiary erected at Gratersford to relieve the congestion at the Eastern Penitentiary. Being in the country where unlimited space is available rather than in the city where there is no longer room for expansion, the Gratersford Penitentiary is spread out and provides out-door work as well as in the shops and the prisoners are allowed greater freedom in their activities. Naturally only those of proven trustworthiness are given these increased privileges, while the more desperate and untrustworthy are still greatly restricted.

In the early days of The Philadelphia Society delinquent children and those of stunted mentality were confined in the same prisons with the degenerate criminal. Through the efforts of the Society a House of Refuge to care for these classes was established. This was followed in time, by the Sleighton Farm and the Glen Mills School.

Also, early in the history of The Philadelphia Society an organization known as The Magdalen Society was formed to care for delinquent women and girls, with the avowed object of providing a refuge where their lives might be reformed and they could be prepared for employment in legitimate occupations. The White-Williams Foundation, named in honor of Bishop White and of George Williams, fifth president of The Philadelphia Society, is the regenerated outgrowth of The Magdalen Society and is a most worthy institution in this field.

The Philadelphia Society was instrumental in bringing about legislation providing for a Board of Pardons to assist the Executive, and for a maximum and minimum sentence for certain crimes, thus giving an incentive for good behavior among prisoners. The Society was also instrumental in a provision being made for a "Volunteer Defender" to look into the cases of those held for trial who were unable to employ legal assistance and who were obviously entitled to the protection of their legal rights when on trial. Mr. Francis Fisher Kane was one of the prime movers in this work and in 1936 he was awarded the Edward A. Bok Award in recognition of his years of work in promoting this humanitarian organization.

The first salaried agent of The Philadelphia Society who devoted his entire time to the task of prison reform was William J. Mullen. He became a member of the Society in 1849. Having been a merchant for many years, Mr. Mullen gave up his business in 1854 to devote his entire time to this work, in which he continued with great success until his death in 1882.

Mr. Albert G. Fraser, the present Executive Secretary of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, became associated with it in 1925, and under his able management great progress has been and is being made in the cause of penal reform of Pennsylvania.

In conclusion, Mr. Teeters says of the Pennsylvania Prison Society:

"The methods used naturally changed with the times, but the objective has always been the same. Sympathy of treatment, a genuine understanding of the problems of the unfortunates and a persistent singleness of purpose have all marked the great work of these men. It is a pleasure

to record such work. These men will be remembered as long as the Pennsylvania Prison Society remains active."

This is a monumental work and an outstanding contribution to the history of penal reform.

—PETER ARRELL BROWNE.

The Life of Marie Moulton Graves Hopkins, Beloved Wife of John Henry Hopkins, and the Story of Their Life and Work Together. By John Henry Hopkins. Privately printed, 1934. 265 pp.

The like of this book we have never seen or read in *Ecclesiastica Americana*. It is the tribute of a distinguished priest and rector to his wife. The joy and usefulness of "their life and work together" call to mind the Kingsleys and the Brownings. In this book the hero is always subordinate to the heroine and every word is written with the pen of love. Perhaps because of this, there is plenty of delightful humor, many passages bringing chuckles to the reader.

Altogether aside from the portrait of a gifted and charming woman we have an excellent picture of the Church in the Middle West from 1890 to 1930. After curacies in Calvary Church, New York, and St. James' Church, Chicago, Dr. Hopkins served as rector of the parishes in Atchison, Kansas, and St. Joseph, Missouri. Then to Chicago where after ten years as rector of the Church of the Epiphany (1899-1908), and Field Secretary of the Fifth Missionary Department (1908-1910), the fruitful ministry in their fourth and last parish, the Church of the Redeemer, Hyde Park, 1910-1929, was rendered.

We could wish that the president of every diocesan branch might read how Mrs. Hopkins built up the Woman's Auxiliary in the Diocese of Chicago.

Dr. Hopkins is "Exhibit A" in reply to the clergyman who fears that if he retires he will "rust out." This book alone would be sufficient justification for his retirement. In addition there have come from his pen two brilliant articles in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*—"Bishop John Henry Hopkins" and "John Henry Hopkins II"—and "The Great Forty Years in the Diocese of Chicago (1893-1934)", published 1936.

WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

A History of St. Augustine's College, 1867-1937. By Cecil D. Halliburton. St. Augustine's College, Raleigh, North Carolina. 1937. 98 pp.

We have long maintained that the best kind of missionary propaganda is historical truth. The present volume is another proof of it. Anyone who reads it cannot but feel that whatever St. Augustine's has cost the Church in money, it has been worth far more to the welfare of the Negro and the country than it cost. The sacrificial lives who have made the college what it is today had been, or would soon have been forgotten, were it not for this history which recalls them to mind and stimulates our gratitude.

Bishop Atkinson of North Carolina was the prime mover in its establishment. The Rev. Dr. J. Brinton Smith was the first principal, succeeded by the Rev. Drs. John E. C. Smedes and Robert B. Sutton, all three covering a period of twenty years. Under the Rev. Dr. A. B. Hunter who became principal in 1888, St. Augustine's entered upon a period of expansion. The American Church Institute for Negroes which entered the picture in 1906, raises much of its revenue and determines its fundamental policies. The Rev. Dr. Edgar H. Goold was the last principal and first president, and still directs its operations.

The development of the college, both physically and academically, is exceedingly interesting. Starting as a Normal School and Collegiate Institute, it took Negro students as it found them in their educational preparation, and advanced the standards as rapidly as conditions warranted. It is now accredited by the North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction and by the Southern Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools. St. Augustine's contribution to the leadership of the Negroes in America can not be fully measured. St. Agnes' Hospital alone fulfills a unique mission in its field.

To the ordinary reader it does not seem that the author has forgotten any person who had a conspicuous share in the upbuilding of the college. For this reason, as well as for others, an index is needed and it is to be hoped that future editions will be supplied with one.

Incidentally the writing of this volume proved the need of complete archives in every diocese. In seeking important data concerning the first principal—J. Brinton Smith—it was necessary to canvass the archives of the Diocese of New Jersey which are like those of most dioceses—entirely inadequate.

WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary: 1843-1844. Edited with an introduction by Lester B. Shippee. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. 1937. 208 pp.

The development of personality in all its stages is one of the most interesting things in the world. This book is a valuable contribution to the study of the growth of Henry Benjamin Whipple, first Bishop of Minnesota. Whipple was not only an outstanding character in American Church history in his generation, but in relation to the history of America's dealings with the Indians, he was not unimportant in the social and political history of the nation. The late Dr. Folwell in the concluding chapter of his four volume *History of Minnesota* entitled, "Acts of the Apostles", lists and discusses Bishop Whipple at some length among the "twelve apostles" of Minnesota.

When young Whipple, then only 22 years old, spent the fall and winter of 1843-44 in the South in search of health, he had not yet been ordained, and so far as the diary indicates had not even considered taking Orders. He was not ordained until 1849. But there are indications of gropings in that direction. His righteous indignation over the treatment of the Seminole Indians foreshadowed his battles in behalf of the Indians of Minnesota twenty years later. His distress over the cruelty, brutality and injustice which he witnessed, his concern over moral conditions and the forces of irreligion, and his shrewd observation, several times repeated in the pages of this diary, that "the evil of slavery is as great to the master as to the slave," are clearly evident. He was, however, essentially sane on the slavery question, and could be classed as a "rational abolitionist"—one who favored its gradual rather than its cataclysmic elimination.

This diary is also rich in source material for conditions in the South during the Forties. He traveled by boat from New York to Savannah, Georgia; then to St. Augustine, Florida, where he stayed longest; across Georgia and Alabama by railroad and boat to New Orleans; up the Mississippi River to St. Louis, and up the Ohio to Cincinnati, and from the latter place to Cumberland by stage. There he boarded a Baltimore and Ohio train for Baltimore and Washington; then to Philadelphia and home. Philadelphia, of all the cities he visited, appears

to have pleased him the most, because the forces of religion and morality were strong there, and its many patriotic memorials delighted him.

On page 129 Whipple states: "We reached Memphis in 2 22½ 24 a distance of 800 miles from New Orleans." The editor adds a footnote to the effect that "one guess is as good as another as to what the writer meant by these figures." It seems to this reviewer that he clearly meant 2 days, 22½ hours, 24 minutes, for on page 132 Whipple says: "We are at St. Louis, having made the trip (of about 1,100 miles) in 4 days, 12 hours." Young Whipple was already a keen judge of men and a careful observer of facts with a talent for getting along with all sorts and conditions of men—qualities which his parochial ministry and episcopate brought to full bloom. He notes that the river boat *Missouri* in its trip from New Orleans to St. Louis used 500 cords of wood which cost one-third of the round trip expense of \$3,200. He describes the capitol building in Washington outside and in, gives the dimensions, and notes that "the north wing cost \$480,-262.57; south wing, \$308,808.41; centre building, \$957,647.35." He was depressed by the character of the House of Representative but "proud of our Senate."

The editor in his introduction devotes 16 pages to an outline of Bishop Whipple's life which is very good, especially his summary of the Bishop's part in Indian affairs, but is wanting in his appraisal of his leadership among the whites, particularly in building up the Episcopal Church. Bishop Whipple was a household name in the family of this reviewer which he here states merely to show his great influence among the rank and file of Episcopalians in Minnesota. To fill out the picture in its true proportions some such paragraph as the following should be added to the introduction:

"Whipple saw to it that churches were planted all over Minnesota and his foundations were for the most part strong and deep. One indication of his bigness is that able clergymen and laymen were attracted to him and glad to serve under him. Evidence of the character of his planting is to be found in the fact that the Episcopal Church to this day is stronger in Minnesota, relative to the population, than in any other Middle Western state, except South Dakota."

This diary was found among Bishop Whipple's papers after his death (1901) and was deposited with the Minnesota Historical Society in 1931. It is a valuable contribution to the ecclesiastical as well as the social, political and economic history of America.

WALTER HERBERT STOWE.

Apostle of China. Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky. 1831-1906. By James Arthur Muller. Morehouse Publishing Co. 1937. Pp. 279.

Professor Muller has laid the whole American Church under obligation by this Biography of Bishop Schereschewsky; truly described as the "Apostle of China". The discovery of the material is an illustration of the romance and reward of persistent historical research, and also of the crying need of cataloguing forgotten material lying in the cellar of the Church Missions House, and in countless other places. There, and in the archives of the American Bible Society, Dr. Muller discovered invaluable manuscripts in the shape of letters and journals.

These have been skillfully woven into a Biography which is surely destined to become a classic. Schereschewsky was born a Russian Jew in 1831. Emigrating to America in 1854, the following year he embraced the Christian faith and entered a Presbyterian Seminary, the record of which runs: "Jew—dropped by order—gone to the Episcopalians for a time". After a brief period at the General Theological Seminary, he accompanied Bishop Boone to China when he was twenty-seven years old. There his activities varied from acting as Chinese secretary to the U. S. Legation, to preaching in the English chapel and translating portions of the Scriptures and the Prayer Book into the Mandarin dialect. With the utmost difficulty he was persuaded to accept election as the "Missionary Bishop of Shanghai, with jurisdiction in China". In graphic words Dr. Muller unfolds the story of this memorable episcopate—the labors oft—the incessant struggle to make appropriations meet expanding work—the beginnings of St. John's College, coupled with the daily care of all the churches, and not least, the internal dissensions arising from divergent churchmanship. The high light is the heroic record of the bishop's mastery of fell circumstance. As the result of a sun-stroke he was paralyzed in both hands and feet and deprived of full freedom of speech. When most men would have given up in despair he spelled out with one finger on a typewriter a translation of the Bible from the original tongues into the Easy Wenli, the book language of China. His linguistic attainments were remarkable. He spoke thirteen languages and could read twenty. Schereschewsky was a hero who worked at his translations till a few hours before his death in 1906. Four years before he died he said to a friend: "I have sat in this chair for over twenty years. It seemed very hard at first. But God knew best. He kept me for the work for which I am best fitted". The Church has waited twenty-one years for a Biography of this Apostle of China. It was worth waiting. Dr. Muller has produced a book which is informing, illuminating and inspiring, and is, in addition, beautifully printed and illustrated.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

The Reverend George Ross, S. P. G., Missionary at New Castle, Delaware. By Edgar L. Pennington. Worcester, Massachusetts, U. S. A. Published by the Society. 1937. Pp. 34.

Dr. Pennington adds another of his contributions to the colonial period of the history of the Church in the shape of a sketch of the life and work of the Reverend George Ross. Like all his work it is painstaking and based upon original sources.

William Tyndale. By J. F. Mozley. New York. The Macmillan Co. Pp. 364.

It is sixty-six years ago since a Biography of Tyndale was written. In the intervening years much new material has come to light which is incorporated in this volume. Like most English biography this is a model.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS

Did the missionaries of the Church in Litchfield County, Connecticut, from 1795 to 1800, keep records of baptisms and marriages?

Did the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts have a headquarters where such records were filed?

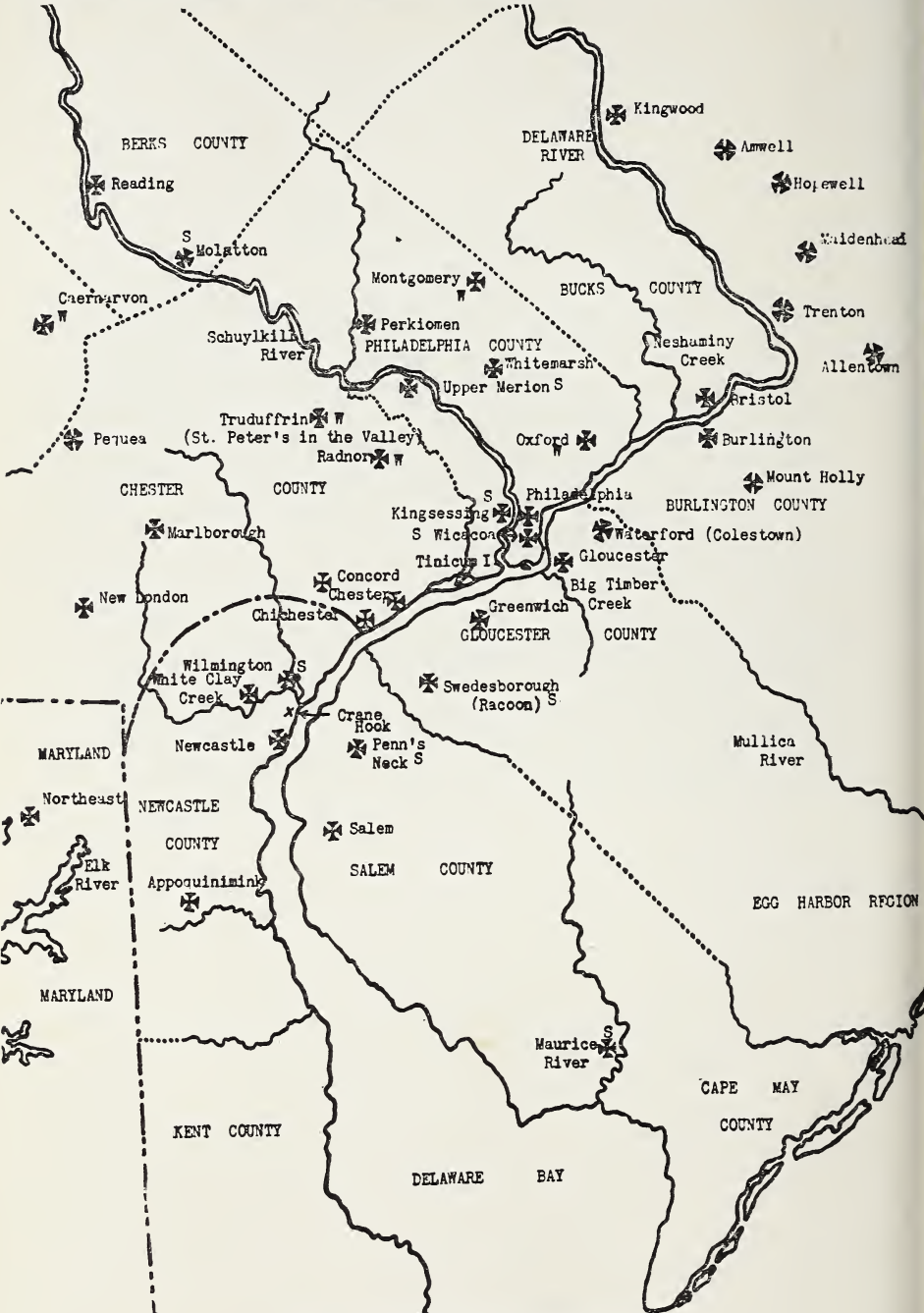
The S. P. G. had no headquarters here. Doubtless the missionaries reported to London their official acts of baptism, marriages, etc., but it is hardly likely that they reported the names of those baptized. You might, however, enquire of the S. P. G. at

Tufton Street, Westminster, London.

Can you say when the Rev. Richard Gibson officiated in Portsmouth, New Hampshire?

Mr. Gibson, a priest of the Church of England, came to the American colonies in 1636. The latter part of that year he officiated at Saco, Maine; afterwards on the Isle of Shoals. There is a record of occasional ministration at Portsmouth as early as 1638. In 1643 he was summoned to appear before a Puritan Court in Boston to answer a charge of officiating on the Isle of Shoals. In view of the fact that he was a "stranger" he was spared the infliction of a penalty. He returned to England at the end of 1643 or early in 1644.

ANGLICAN, SWEDISH AND WELSH CHURCHES IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES



KEY TO SYMBOLS ON THE MAP:

- S—Swedish Lutheran Churches.
- W—Churches specifically described in the documents as Welsh. It should be remembered that some of the other Episcopal churches contained a considerable Welsh element.
- County boundaries of colonial period.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SWEDES AND THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN AMERICA

By Nelson H. Burr

I.

THE tercentenary of the establishment of New Sweden has a peculiar interest for Episcopalians, because of the long and intimate relations between the colonial missions of the national churches of Sweden and England. At this time American Churchmen should recall their immense debt to the Swedish colonial churches and realize the obligation to renew and continue the bond of affection with their modern successors, hoping that it may contribute to the growing reunion of Christendom.

Like the Church of England, the Lutheran national Church of Sweden played an outstanding part in the colonial movement of the seventeenth century. New Sweden was a long-cherished dream of the great King Gustavus Adolphus and his chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna. It assumed reality in 1638, when the first ship bearing colonists and soldiers plowed up the sea-like mouth of the Delaware. The adventurers for church and country located their first stronghold and dwellings near the mouth of the present Christina Creek at Wilmington, named in honor of Queen Christina, a daughter of Gustavus and a patroness of New Sweden. With the second expedition, 1639-1640, came a priest of the national Lutheran Church, Reorus Torkillus. He preached, catechized and comforted in the fort and the crude log dwellings at the edge of the wilderness, until a little church was built in 1641-1642, at Christina.¹

¹Johnson, *Amandus, The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, I*, pp. 205, 372, 373; *II*, p. 697.—Hazard, *Samuel, Register of Pennsylvania, IV*, p. 178.—Keen, *Gregory B., The Swedish and Dutch Settlements on the Delaware, Address, Feb. 23, 1892.—Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, XI, Crane Hook*

Reinforced by shiploads of soldiers, traders, farmers and foresters, for seventeen years New Sweden gradually extended from the future site of Philadelphia to the vicinity of Salem, New Jersey, in spite of more or less opposition from the Dutch and the English. When the strong hand of Governor Peter Stuyvesant annexed the colony to New Netherland in 1655, it had become a thinly scattered community of several hundred Swedes, Finns and Dutch, with Swedish the predominant tongue and Lutheranism the predominant faith. The church already had struck deep roots, fostered by the home government and the local authorities. The most distinguished governor and patron of the church was Johan Printz, whose vast girth was proportionate to his ambitions for the development of New Sweden. Like other rough soldiers of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), he probably could swear till the leaves on the trees shook. He once bragged that with a few more soldiers he would break the neck of every Indian on the river, and he certainly ruled with a high hand. At his accession in 1642, he received orders to promote the church's interests and the conversion of the Indians. With the respect to the latter he was frankly doubtful of success, but he strove to maintain the church in old-country fashion. With a soldier's eye for the strategic advantages of the site of Philadelphia, he made nearby Tinicum (or Tenakong) Island the capital of New Sweden. There he built his log palace—"Printz Hall"—lived rather like a lord of the manor, and erected a small log church, consecrated in 1646. This was the forerunner of the famous Swedish churches in and about Philadelphia. His successor, Johan Rising (1653-1655), also endeavored to make regular provision for support of the clergy and conformity to Swedish liturgy.²

Before the Dutch conquest of 1655, and from then until the beginning of English rule nine years later, several priests ministered to the soldiers and settlers. The most notable of these was Johan Campanius

Church, &c., Pusey, Pennock, p. 8.—Lutheran Church Review, No. 2, April, 1896, Art. II, The Lutheran Church and the Province of Pennsylvania in the Seventeenth Century, Schmauk, Theodore E., pp. 136, 137.—Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, XI, A History of New Sweden, or The Settlements on the River Delaware, pp. 24, 85-86.—Richards, Samuel H., New Stockholm, pp. 5-6.—Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, III, The Founding of New Sweden, 1637-1642, Odhner, C. T., pp. 398, 399; VIII, The History of the Colony of New Sweden, Sprinchorn, C. K. S., p. 245.

²*Johnson, op. cit., I, p. 373; II, p. 546.—Johnson, Amandus, The Swedes on the Delaware, I, p. 296.—Johnson, Amandus, Editor, The Instruction for Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden, pp. 33-34, 94-96.—Acrelius, op. cit., pp. 39-40, 43.—Schmauk, op. cit., pp. 137, 138.—Richards, op. cit., p. 6.—Pusey, op. cit., p. 9.—Keen, op. cit.—Sprinchorn, op. cit., in Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., VII, pp. 408, 409.—Myers, Albert C., Editor, Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, pp. 122, 150.—Winsor, Justin, Narrative and Critical History of America, IV, pp. 452-453.—Clay, Jehn C., Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware, pp. 20-21, 23, 24.—Norberg, Otto, The Mission of the Church of Sweden on the Delaware, &c., MS., p. 24.*

Holm, who came over in 1642-1643. His translation of Luther's small catechism into the Delaware Indian tongue was finally printed by order of King Charles XI and used by later Swedish missionaries. (*See below*) To guard the approach to the upper settlements, Fort Elfsborg was built on the New Jersey side of the river in 1643, at Elsinborough near the present Salem. The priest temporarily stationed there, Israel Holg Fluviander, undoubtedly was the first resident clergyman in New Jersey. The stronghold eventually was abandoned, partly because it was found impracticable for defense and partly because the swarms of mosquitos made life so unbearable that it was called "Myggenborg"—mosquito town. Another important pioneer missionary was Lars (Lawrence) Lock, who came in 1647 and served long after Swedish rule had passed into history, ministering to the Swedes, Finns and Hollanders.³

Under Dutch and English dominion, the colony settled into a long period of gradual expansion and assimilation of its elements into one stock. Within several generations the Swedes, Finns and Dutch were blended by marriage and social intercourse into a predominantly Swedish community. The large immigration of British Quakers after 1680 found the Swedes as a thinly settled community of quiet, industrious farmers with large families. In the course of time some of them became fairly wealthy, attained high positions in the government and became assimilated with the surrounding English culture. Most of them, however, lived close to the land and clung to their language and customs for generations, as their social life centered largely in the churches served by missionaries from the old country.⁴

Little is known of their religious history from the beginning of Dutch rule, except that during this and the early part of the English period they apparently passed through a time of increasingly irregular services and waning spiritual zeal. For many years the only pastor of the Lutheran national church was Lars Lock, who at one time or another served all the Swedes from Philadelphia to Newcastle. Other preachers, not of the Swedish Church, ministered occasionally, including Jacob Fabritius, a Dutch Lutheran from New York. They were not entirely satisfactory, and the Swedes and Finns of Crane Hook even complained against Fabritius for preaching in Dutch, which they could

³Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, pp. 303, 339, 371, 372, 373; II, pp. 582, 678-679, 681.—Schmauk, p. 138.—*Instruction for Printz*, pp. 21, 24, 25.—Acrelius, pp. 29, 45.—Clay, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 27-28, 36-37.—Hazard, *Register*, V, p. 15.—Myers, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 80.—Norberg, pp. 20, 26-27.—Pusey, pp. 10, 11.—Sprinchorn, VII, p. 409, VIII, pp. 22, 245.—Odhner, p. 409.—Collection D, *Swedish MSS.*, *Hist. Soc. of Penna.*, *Seventeen Historical Documents concerning the Early Settlements of the Swedes on the River Delaware*, XVII.

⁴Clay, p. 72.—Scharf, J. T., *History of Delaware*, I, pp. 147, 148, 154, 155.—Winsor, IV, p. 488.—Holm, Thomas C., *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden, &c.*, in *Penn. Hist. Soc. Memoirs*, III, p. 67.—Acrelius, pp. 114-115, 193.—Norberg, p. 45, footnote.—Sprinchorn, VIII, pp. 242-244.

hardly understand. The most solid accomplishment of this long period was the organization of two parishes in 1672, with a request for the final consent of the English government. The upper parish centered at Wicacoa, where an old block-house was converted into a church. Fabritius came to preach there in 1677, after several years of service at Crane Hook. The lower parish centered at Crane Hook (or Tranhook) Church, built in 1666-1667 and supposed to be conveniently situated for the Dutch and Swedish Lutherans of Newcastle and Christina. The Swedish settlers in West Jersey belonged to the nearest church, occasionally going to service across the broad and sometimes stormy river.⁵

As Lock and Fabritius aged and were less able to endure the fatigues of travel and ministration, the spiritual condition and even the existence of the churches lay open to grave dangers. Lock became very lame and died in 1688, and his colleague, who had been blind for a long time, followed him in 1693. The churches were thus left to the ministrations of lay-readers: Anders Bengtson at Wicacoa or Tinicum and Charles Springer at Christina or Crane Hook. Although William Penn, the Proprietor of Pennsylvania and Delaware, offered to help in securing new pastors and books from Sweden, through his influence in England, little came of it except some books, and by 1691 the situation was threatening. The influx of English-speaking settlers seemed likely to undermine the social solidarity and language of the Swedes (as it finally did) and the pervasive influence of Quakerism threatened to prevail over orthodoxy.⁶

At that juncture the churches providentially received a new lease of life from the persistent and disinterested efforts of two Swedes. One was Anders Printz, a traveler, who upon his return to Sweden interceded for the people with John Thelin, secretary and postmaster at Gothenburg, who carried the story to King Charles XI. The other was Charles Springer, who for many years served his countrymen as a letter-writer, teacher and lay-reader. He is said to have come to America through the practice of "spiriting" or "crimping" (practically kidnapping) young persons to the colonies as servants and laborers. He found his way thus to Virginia and finally to his countrymen on the Delaware. Impressed by the languishing condition of the churches, he also moved the people to appeal to the motherland, and conducted their correspondence concerning the renewal of the mission. Their repeated pleas aroused the King to consult with Doctor Jesper Svedberg, later

⁵Clay, pp. 36, 37, 38, 76.—Myers, pp. 79-80.—Sprinchorn, VIII, p. 246.—Johnson, *Swed. Set.*, II, pp. 668, 669.—Acrelius, pp. 85-86, 100 ff., 176, 177, 178, 179.—Pusey, pp. 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.—Schmauk, pp. 138, 139, 140. *New York Colonial Documents*, XII, pp. 529, 539.

⁶Clay, pp. 33, 38, 39-40, 45.—Myers, pp. 79-80.—Acrelius, pp. 114-115, 179-181.—Pusey, pp. 23, 26.

the Bishop of Skara, who urged him to aid the American churches by placing the matter in the hands of the Archbishop of Uppsala, Doctor Olaus Suebilibous, the clerical head of the national Church of Sweden. These events, occurring between 1691 and 1696, revived interest in the remote, lost colony and resulted in a new mission that survived until after the Revolution.⁷

The mission began in 1697, with the coming of three priests: Andrew Rudman, Erik Björk and Jonas Auren. The King was personally interested in them, promised suitable provision for them when they returned and supplied them with travel money, books for the churches and their parishioners, and copies of Holm's famous translation of the catechism. He thus set an example to later monarchs, especially Charles XII, who even during his Polish campaigns and exile in Turkey sent letters, books and other tokens of interest to the American churches. Another most gracious patron was the esteemed Doctor Jesper Svedberg, who became Bishop of Skara in 1702 and was specially commissioned by the King to superintend the American Mission. In a letter to the Philadelphia congregation in 1719, he assured the churches that he would care for them as long as God spared his life. He labored for them for over forty years, until his death in 1735, partly through co-operation with the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, familiarly called the S. P. G., of which he became a fellow in 1712. He constantly exhorted the clergy to cherish and serve the Episcopal churches and to live with them as brethren. Other Swedish prelates were keenly interested, especially the Archbishops of Uppsala and Doctor Bilberge, the Bishop of Strengnäs, who became a member of the S. P. G.⁸

The mission became well organized and maintained communication with the Archbishop and Consistory of Uppsala, Bishop Svedberg and the S. P. G., and the missionaries generally used to write individually to learned friends in their motherland. There was usually a Provost, Commissary or Dean of the mission, who acted as a vice-bishop and presided at meetings of the clergy. He kept in touch with

⁷Clay, p. 45.—Ferris, Benjamin, *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware*, pp. 151, 152.—Holm, p. 92.—Acrelius, pp. XVII, XVIII, 181-198.—Norberg, pp. 49-50, footnote, and p. 51.

⁸Clay, pp. 52-53, 54, 55, 90, 95, 102-104.—Ferris, *op. cit.*, p. 153.—Holm, pp. 92, 100, 101.—Acrelius, pp. XX, XXI, 198-201, 366-369.—*Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, IX, *Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Delaware, &c.*, pp. 14, 71, 72, 73, 82, 118, 140, 147, 159, 197, 198, 247-248, 256, 257.—Norberg, pp. 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83.—Sprinchorn, VIII, p. 246.—*Autograph Coll. of the Hist. Soc. of Penna.*, *Letter from Bishop Jesper Svedberg, Aug., 1719. "To the Christian Swedes Congregation in Philadelphia."*—*Coll. of Genealogical Soc. of Penna.*, *Trinity P. E. Ch., Swedesboro, N. J., Baptisms, Marriages, Deaths, 1713-1796*, pp. 34, 48, 51, 53, 130, 135, 136, 137. *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Annual Sermon pamphlets (with Proceedings): 1719, 1720, 1721, 1724, 1727, 1728, 1729.*

the clergy of other churches, especially the German Lutherans and the Anglicans, which contributed largely to interchurch friendship and co-operation. Nearly all the Swedish clergy were distinguished men, and this was especially true of most of the Provosts, who would have adorned any church by their abilities as preachers, pastors, administrators and authors. Some of the clergy died on the mission, but others returned to Sweden for promotion to honorable positions. During the period of the mission, from 1697 to 1789, not less than twenty-four priests, as well as several schoolmasters, crossed the ocean to serve their countrymen on the Delaware. There were also some clergymen who came over without the official auspices of the mission.⁹

The first missionaries landed in June, 1697, at Elk River in Maryland, near the head of Chesapeake Bay, and were joyfully welcomed by the Swedish-speaking settlers, who then numbered about twelve hundred. Auren ministered at Elk River to a few Swedish families, and to the Pennsylvania Indians at Conestoga and the West Jersey Swedes. Björk and Rudman proceeded with amazing energy to inspire, transform and build up the Christina and Philadelphia parishes. Becoming ashamed of the dilapidated churches at Crane Hook and Wicacoa, they built and had consecrated the present "Old Swedes" (Holy Trinity) Church at Christina (Wilmington) in 1698-1699, and Gloria Dei (Glory of God) Church at Wicacoa in 1700. Still standing among the graves of Swedish pioneers, in the roaring industrial and commercial centers that have enclosed them, these churches are among the oldest in the country in continuous use. Their present connection with the Episcopal Church recalls Episcopalian interest in their erection and dedication. The ancient parish records tell us that John Harrison and his son, of the Episcopal church in Philadelphia, took an important share in the building of Holy Trinity at Christina. In spite of opposition from the west-side churches, the numerous Swedes in West Jersey soon began to demand a church, probably because they were tired of crossing the river in small boats and in all kinds of weather. In 1704, under the unauthorized ministry of Lars Tolstadius, they dedicated Trinity Church at Raccoon (now Swedesborough). In 1715, by order of Bishop Svedberg, West Jersey was erected into a parish, and in 1717 Saint George's Church at Penn's Neck was dedicated. In 1784-1786, under the ministry of the last surviving missionary, Doctor Nicholas Collin, the church at Raccoon was replaced by the present handsome classical edi-

⁹Scharf, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 155, 159.—Holm, pp. 101, 102, 103-106, 109-111.—Acrelius, pp. IX, XXIII, XXIV.—Reynolds, Wm. M., *The Swedish Church in America, Discourse*, May 18, 1848, pp. 31, 32, 33.—*The Swedes and the Protestant Episcopal Church*, pamphlet, pp. 10-11.—Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., XV, pp. 481-485. Stille, Charles J., *Archivum Americanum in the Consistory Court of the Archbishop of Upsal*; XVI, pp. 349-358, Collin, Nicholas, *A Brief Account of the Swedish Mission from its Commencement until its Cessation*.

fice, with white trim and a tower commanding a fine view of the meadows.¹⁰

Several other churches were established during the mission period, for the faith of the Swedish national church was carried far and wide by the prolific pioneer families. They spread to Elk River in Maryland, near the head of the bay, where they mingled with the English Episcopalians and other colonists. In Newcastle County, Delaware, some settled as far south as Appoquinimink. In Pennsylvania they gradually became diffused throughout all the older southeastern counties, from Neshaminy Creek in Bucks County to the southern line of Chester (including the present Delaware County), and along the Schuylkill valley from Kingsessing (West Philadelphia) to Lower and Upper Merion, Conshohocken, Molatton, and Reading in Berks County. In West Jersey they were scattered from Big Timber Creek near Gloucester (about the present Camden) to Maurice River, within a few miles of Cape May. A few families trekked through the pine woods to the Egg Harbor region, along the lower course of the Mullica River, which was named for the Mollickas. There they were sometimes visited by the Swedish missionaries. In many places the Swedes were soon assimilated, losing their language and ancestral faith, but here and there they were numerous enough to found enduring churches. There was one down at Maurice River which was alive as late as 1770. By 1765 the Wicacoa parish had thriving offshoots in Saint James' Church at Kingsessing and Christ Church at Upper Merion. Episcopalians also frequented these churches, especially the one at Kingsessing, where one of the most devoted patrons was an Anglican, Colonel James Coultas, at one time the High Sheriff of Philadelphia County. He contributed handsomely to the church building in 1761-1762 and befriended the Swedish clergy. Far out in the country, at Molatton in Berks County, there was another Swedish church, sustained by Lutherans and Episcopalians, which became the seed of the Anglican mission in Berks County under the care of the S. P. G.¹¹

¹⁰Clay, pp. 57, 65, 66, 68, 70, 75, 82, 84.—Schmauk, pp. 150, 151.—Acrelius, pp. 314 ff., 321-323.—Collin, *op. cit.*, p. 350.—Norberg, pp. 52-53, 67-69, 73-74, 90-93, 94, 96, 115-117.—*Recs. of Holy Trin. Ch.*, pp. 33 et seq.—Heston, Alfred M., editor, *South Jersey, A History, 1664-1923*, I, pp. 447, 448.

¹¹Clay, p. 125.—Norberg, p. 126.—Acrelius, pp. 201-202, 204, 205-207, 212-213, 218, 264-265, 269, 270, 275, 314.—*Brief Review of My Journey to West India, A. D., 1701 (including Philadelphia Diary: 1702-1719)*, Sandel, Andreas, p. 128.—*Translations of Swedish Documents concerning the Swedish Churches in Philadelphia, Archives of Sweden and of the Chapter of Uppsala*, Ayre S. Erickson, pp. 5-6, 8.—*Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XI, pp. 50-57, Robins, R. P., Colonel James Coultas, High Sheriff of Philadelphia, 1755-1758.—XVII, pp. 83-87, Clement, John, *Swedish Settlers in Gloucester County, New Jersey, Previous to 1684*.—XXX, pp. 287-299, *Extracts from the Journal of Rev. Andreas Sandel, &c.*—*Historical Society of Montgomery County, Penna., Sketches*, IV, 62-72, Matson's Ford, Smyth, S. G.; 73-77, *Sketch of Swedes Ford and its Surroundings*, Holstein, Dr. G. W.

II.

All this time, thanks to the S. P. G., the Episcopal Church had risen from feebleness to considerable strength in the regions of Swedish settlement. The heroic mission of George Keith from New Hampshire to North Carolina, in 1702-1704, roused many passive Episcopalians and converted hundreds of his friends and followers who were dissatisfied with Quakerism and were seeking a new religious home. Churches sprang up where he trod among the English and Welsh, and within twenty-five years the Society's missionaries built up permanent congregations in close contact with the Swedes. In West Jersey were Saint Mary's, Burlington, and Saint John's at Salem. Close to the Swedish families on the Neshaminy lay the church of Bristol, and a few miles to the south was another at Oxford, largely composed of Welsh people. There were other Welsh congregations at Montgomery, north of Philadelphia, and at Saint David's at Radnor township, somewhat to the northwest. Christ Church in Philadelphia was only a good walking distance from Gloria Dei at Wicacoa. On the Delaware, in Chester County, were two churches literally embedded in a large Swedish settlement—Saint Paul's, Chester, and Saint Martin's at Chichester, now called Marcus Hook. To the northwest, in the same county, there were churches at Concord and Marlborough; and to the southwest, far down the road that led towards the Susquehanna River, lay the parish of New London. Emanuel Church at Newcastle, Delaware, was one of the earliest S. P. G. missions, and associated with it as a chapel of ease was a smaller church at White Clay Creek, a few miles westward towards Maryland. In the midst of another Swedish community was Saint James' Church, Appoquinimink, where an Anglican missionary was stationed at an early date.¹²

The impossibility of constant Episcopal services in all these places opened the way to that brotherly relation which Bishop Svedberg so earnestly advised. It commenced when the first Anglican missionaries arrived and were cordially welcomed by Rudman and Björk, who were always devoted to the interests of the Episcopal Church.

Andrew Rudman was described by Governor Evans of Pennsylvania as "one of the most learned men that ever came into America." He served as pastor of Gloria Dei Church and died in September, 1708, while planning for his return to Sweden. He lived on intimate terms with several of the Episcopal clergy, particularly Evan Evans of Christ Church in Philadelphia, and George Ross, the S. P. G. missionary at

¹²*Humphreys, David, An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, pp. 145-166, 179, 181-188, 199.—S. P. G. An. Serms. and Proceedings, passim.*

Newcastle, Delaware. During a long absence of Evans in England he cared for Christ Church in addition to his own curé, and in 1706, at the request of Ross, he preached a sermon at the opening of Emanuel Church in Newcastle. For a couple of years he ministered to Trinity Church in Oxford, about eight or nine miles north of Philadelphia, attempting for a while to walk the entire distance, but he found this beyond his strength and was compelled to buy a horse. Of course he was well paid for serving in Philadelphia, and after his death some who should have been grateful to him rather meanly noted that he did not appear to have been in as severe financial straits as he represented. These carplings, written when death had forbidden him to answer, should not be allowed to becloud the fact that he had sustained the two churches when it was impossible to give them Anglican services. He was highly esteemed by the excellent George Ross, one of the Society's most devoted and long-serving missionaries, and the Episcopal clergy commended him to the Bishop of London, the head of the colonial Church.¹³

His colleague, Erik Björk, won golden opinions from the Anglicans—and no wonder, for the ancient records of "Old Swedes'" Church at Wilmington abound in references to his journeys to minister to neighboring Episcopal churches. The records tell us that down to 1713 he repeatedly visited them, with the consent of his Swedish congregation, who declared that they earnestly desired to live in brotherly love with the people of the Church of England. The people of Saint James' Episcopal Church at Appoquinimink gratefully mentioned to the Society his services to them after the death of their missionary, Mr. Jenkins. He served Emanuel Church in Newcastle, during the absence of a missionary, and exchanged pulpits with Ross, preaching at Saint Paul's in Chester while the latter preached at Holy Trinity. By special invitation he ministered also at Saint Martin's, Chichester, although he found the people there rather cold, and even preached in English "in the church above Frankfort (probably Oxford) while visiting Gloria Dei. With other Swedish priests he attended meetings of the Anglican clergy and in 1713 attended the consecration of the church at Oxford. He was friendly with the S. P. G. missionaries, especially Jenkins of Appoquinimink, who visited him at Newcastle in 1708 and called him "a very pious, sincere Christian." When he was about to return "home," after a mission of seventeen years, Björk could justly claim that he had promoted the interest of the Episcopal Church to the utmost of his power, and requested the Society to help him take his large family across the sea, as he was in poor circumstances. The Society's correspondence

¹³*Humphreys, op. cit., p. 149.—S. P. G., An. Sermon and Proc., 1705.—Perry, Wm. S., Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania, A. D. 1680-1778, pp. 20-21, 25-28, 42-43, 45-46, 47-50, 50-52, 504-505, 509.—Delaware, pp. 13-14, 19, 20, 25, 43 et seq.*

shows how highly he was respected by Bishop Svedberg of Skara, by Doctor Compton the Bishop of London, and by the Episcopalian clergy and laity generally.¹⁴

The names of these two pioneers merely begin the long honor roll of colonial Swedish clergy who succored our church in her days of weakness. Another prominent name is that of Andrew Sandel, pastor of Gloria Dei, who mentioned the harmony and friendship between the Swedish and English congregations. From him we learn that on solemn occasions, such as the laying of cornerstones, the Episcopalians always invited the Swedes to come. In 1718 he begged the Society, through Mr. Norberg, minister of the Swedish congregation in London, to assist him on his journey back to Sweden, declaring that he had always promoted the interest of the Episcopal Church. That he did not exaggerate in hope of reward is shown by the warm letters in his favor, addressed to the Society and the Bishop of London by the missionaries in Philadelphia, Burlington, Newcastle and Chester, who especially mentioned his services to the church in Philadelphia.¹⁵

The names of Andrew Hesselius and Abraham Lidenius, who came in 1712, are repeatedly joined in honorable mention and in reward of their services to destitute Episcopal churches in Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey. In 1721, through the favor of the nearby Episcopal clergy, they were cordially thanked by the Society, which gave them ten pounds each for their past services and promised them the same sum annually for performing the services and preaching in English in vacant Episcopal churches at least twenty times. They were especially commended for supplying the Episcopal church at Salem, New Jersey, where the Society had no missionary until the Reverend John Holbrook was sent in 1722. Andrew Hesselius, the Provost of the Mission, and his brother Samuel who succeeded him as pastor of Holy Trinity Church at Wilmington, both strove continually to sustain the feeble Episcopal churches at White Clay Creek and Appoquinimink, which frequently suffered from lack of missionaries. In the 1720's these congregations were served by occasional preaching and services in English, at the request of Ross, the rector of Newcastle, and the petition of many of the Episcopalian laity. The records of Holy Trinity during that period show many baptisms by the Swedish clergy at White Clay Creek and Appoquinimink. Also by request, Samuel Hesselius served Chester, Chichester and Concord in Pennsylvania, and even went over into Maryland to preach in the Episcopal church at Northeast, beyond Elk River. The wagging tongue of malice, eager to promote dissen-

¹⁴*Humphreys, p. 161.—Perry, Penna. Papers, pp. 61-62, 62-63, 509.—Delaware, pp. 8 et seq., 32.—Recs. of Holy Trin. Ch., pp. 122, 133-134, 136, 139-140, 142-143, 150, 156, 158, 160, 183.*

¹⁵*Clay, pp. 102-104.—Perry, Penna. Papers, pp. 113-114.*

sion in the Swedish community, charged him with neglecting his own people. He indignantly denied this in a remonstrance to Governor Patrick Gordon of Pennsylvania and Delaware. From the outrageous libel, which penetrated even to Sweden, he was cleared by letters to Bishop Svedberg from Archibald Cummings, the Commissary of the Bishop of London in Pennsylvania, the English clergy, the laity of his parish and the wardens and other members of Saint Paul's, Chester. In 1730 and 1731, before his return to Sweden, the Episcopal clergy wrote in his favor to the Society, "in whose service," they said, "he has labored more than all his predecessors."¹⁶

The tradition of Swedish friendship towards the Anglicans was worthily upheld by his successor, Peter Tranberg, who ministered also to the Swedes in West Jersey and died greatly honored in 1748, after seven years as pastor at Wilmington. The next pastor there was the celebrated Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Swedish Mission, whose account of the Swedish settlements and churches, down to his day, is still an American historical classic. By consent of the parish he preached now and then at Saint James' in White Clay Creek, and at Marlborough and Folk's Manor in Pennsylvania. In 1755 his trips to Chichester brought him into a serious clash with Thomas Thomson, the S. P. G. missionary at Chester, who wrote him a polite but frigid letter, sharply rebuking him for intruding upon his parish. Acrelius firmly but courteously replied that his services had been requested. He also hinted that Thomson had abandoned the church—which was only too true, as he had quarrelled with the people there. The neighboring Episcopalian clergy sustained Acrelius, remarking that Chichester was not necessarily a part of Chester mission anyhow, and Thomson had to eat a deserved cut of humble pie and write an apology. When Acrelius was returning to Sweden, in 1756, Doctor Smith, Provost of the college in Philadelphia, recommended him to the secretary of the S. P. G. as a man of learning and a sincere friend to the Church of England, who had served many vacant English congregations, particularly Newcastle, by preaching and using the Episcopal service in English.¹⁷

Another of the illustrious succession of pastors at Wilmington was Erik Unander, who also did everything he could to support the Episcopal Church. In 1757 the vestry gave him formal permission to preach to the English one Sunday in the month. During a vacancy in the

¹⁶S. P. G., *An. Serms. and Proc.*, 1722, p. 42; 1723, p. 44.—Perry, *Penna. Papers*, pp. 122-124, 124-125, 128-129, 131-133, 152-153, 518.—*Delaware*, pp. 37-38.—*Recs. of Holy Trin. Ch.*, pp. 257-258, 263-264, 270, 274-276, 279, 291, 314, 323, 325-331, 334-335, 348-350.—*Ferris*, pp. 179-181.—*Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of New Jersey, 1785-1816, Appendix, Historical Sketches*, pp. 91-97.

¹⁷Perry, *Penna. Papers*, pp. 448-451, 518, 564. *Recs. of Holy Trin. Ch.*, pp. 409, 441-443, 457-461, 462.

Chester County mission he went as often as possible to visit the sick, baptize, preach and catechize at Chester, Concord, Marlborough and New London. He also served the Anglicans and the Swedes at Salem and Timber Creek in West Jersey, while he was pastor of Raccoon and Penn's Neck before going to Wilmington. In 1760 he petitioned the Society for some recognition of his labors, saying that during eleven years of service in America he had officiated according to the liturgy of the Church of England and preached on Sundays and weekdays, and had baptized several hundred children and over fifty adults and catechized on all proper occasions. He received testimonials to these services, from the churchwardens of Saint John's in Concord, Pennsylvania, and Salem, New Jersey; also from Doctor Jenney, rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, Doctor Smith, Provost of the college there, Mr. Sturgeon, Catechist to the Negroes in Philadelphia, and Mr. Craig, missionary at Chester, Marcus Hook and Concord. For all his pains and travels he received honorable mention and twenty pounds from the Society.¹⁸

The Anglicans, however, were by no means always on the receiving end. One of the most distinguished services of the S. P. G. was its extensive distribution of religious literature, not only to Anglicans but also to people of other denominations. The scattered Swedish settlers apparently derived much benefit from this custom. Lars Girelius, the last Swedish pastor at Wilmington, gave to the young people of his parish some small religious books sent over by the Society at the request of Doctor Wrangel, the Provost of the Swedish Mission. Through a summer visit of pastors Göranson and Wicksell, some such books even found their way to the remote Swedish settlement at Egg Harbor on the New Jersey coast, beyond the pine barrens.¹⁹

The West Jersey Swedes were so widely diffused over a vast territory that some of them could seldom attend a Swedish church or even see a Swedish missionary. The Episcopalians therefore had an opportunity to repay some of the many kind services of the Swedish clergymen. In 1744 Aneas Ross, an S. P. G. missionary and the son of George Ross of Newcastle, visited the Swedes in Sinnamensson and Waterford, across the Delaware River from Philadelphia, in the vicinity of the present city of Camden. They understood English and were willing to accept an Anglican priest, and also desired to build a church and organize a regular congregation. When the Society much later established a mission for Gloucester and Waterford, the Swedes in that region readily received its ministrations. This mission, which was aided

¹⁸*S. P. G. An. Serm. and Proc.*, 1761, pp. 53-54.—*Perry, Penna. Papers*, pp. 324-325, 448-451, 569. *Clay, Annals*, pp. 111, 112, 122, 174.—*Recs. of Holy Trin. Ch.*, p. 466.—*Jour's of N. J. Convent's*, 1785-1816, *Appen.*, *Hist. Sk.*, pp. 91-97.

¹⁹*Recs. of Holy Trin. Ch.*, p. 486.

by Doctor Wrangel, soon became one of the most prosperous in New Jersey, due to the hearty co-operation of the Anglicans and the Swedes. It centered at the Gloucester and Cole's (Waterford) churches, but included also a church at Greenwich (now Clarksboro), about eighteen miles to the southwest. It extended along the river about thirty miles and about sixty towards the ocean—practically the whole of old Gloucester County, with a population of about six thousand. It suffered a severe loss in the death of the promising young missionary, Mr. Evans, a Welshman, who in 1766 and 1767 wrote that he had visited as far away as Cape May and Egg Harbor. He was succeeded by Mr. David Griffith, another Welshman, and Mr. Robert Blackwell.²⁰

In the second quarter of the century the S. P. G. supported a mission at Salem in West Jersey, in the region where a Swedish Lutheran priest had served about a century before. There were many scattered Swedish families there, and further down through Cohansey and Maurice River, towards Cape May. The Swedish pastors of Racoon and Penn's Neck could visit but rarely, and ministration to them fell upon the Anglican priests. That they realized their obligation appears from a letter written to the Society in August, 1734, by Mr. Pierson, the Salem missionary. He had visited Cohansey, about twenty miles away, where he had a good congregation in spite of bad weather, and intended soon to visit a congregation of English and Swedes at Maurice River, about thirty miles from his home.²¹

Across the river in Pennsylvania a similar instance of Anglican ministration to Swedes occurred at Chester, one of the oldest Swedish settlements, formerly called Upland for the province of that name in Sweden. In the early years of the eighteenth century, shortly after the establishment of the S. P. G. mission there, it was noticed that some of the Swedes were members of Saint Paul's and went nowhere else to church. The circumstances of their attachment to the Anglican communion are of unusual interest, as they were derived from the early Swedish colony. The ground upon which Saint Paul's stood was formerly a Swedish burying ground, belonging to the old nearby church at Tinicum, which also had a valuable glebe. When Saint Paul's was erected the ancient church apparently had disappeared and the glebe was "irreligiously sold by some Swedes under ye name of Church-yardens to a powerful Quaker." The Swedes, seeing their church thus dispossessed by chicanery, probably became disgusted and flocked to the Episcopal church. Their scattered countrymen northeast of Philadelphia, living far from Gloria Dei Church, evidently attempted for a while to hold separate services, but finally took advantage of the S. P. G.

²⁰Perry, *Penna. Papers*, pp. 237-238, 442-443.—*S. P. G. An. Serms. and Proc.*: 1767, p. 61; 1768, pp. 55-56; 1771, p. 12; 1773, pp. 13-14; 1774, p. 35; 1776, p. 45.

²¹*S. P. G. An. Sermon and Proc.*, 1734-5, p. 55.

mission, with which their pastor co-operated, and joined Trinity Church at Oxford.²²

One of the most remarkable examples of Swedish and Episcopalian fellowship occurred in Berks County, where both the Swedes and the English were vastly outnumbered by the great immigration of High Germans. There were Swedish settlers around Molatton several years before 1720, as by that time they had erected a log meeting-house, the first place of worship in the county. The first Swedish pastor is said to have come in 1720, and the last served in 1752-1755. In 1732 Alexander Howie, the S. P. G. missionary at Oxford, read prayers and preached once in two months at the request of a Swedish congregation "about thirty miles back in the country." In reporting to the Society he declared that "The Swedes are a people that should be encouraged for upon all occasions they have discovered their good-will & friendship to the Church of England in these parts." These people apparently were the Swedes at Molatton, southeast of Reading in Berks County, who for themselves and the Episcopalians in 1736-1737 built a log church that was still standing about thirty years later. In 1753 the Molatton congregation decided to obtain the canons of the Church of England, and in 1760 and 1761, at the instance of Doctor William Smith, Provost of the college in Philadelphia, the Anglicans and Swedes in the county petitioned the Society to establish a mission in Berks. The county had never had a settled Anglican minister and enjoyed only infrequent visits from the missionaries of other interior counties. They wanted a priest to reside in Reading and to officiate also at Molatton and be supported by both congregations. A new mission was therefore established in 1762, under the care of Alexander Murray, to the great joy of the Swedes and Anglicans. In gratitude they promised the Society to repair the old church, provide a glebe and parsonage and better maintenance for the missionary. Murray had a vestry chosen for the Episcopalian congregation, which was formally organized in April, 1763, and a log church was built in 1765. The church is now Saint Gabriel's at Douglassville in Amity township, Berks County.²³

These cordial relations, constantly stimulated by the ecclesiastical authorities in England and Sweden, at one time seemed likely to ripen into real church unity. In 1768 Richard Peters, an Anglican priest in Philadelphia, unfolded the scheme to the Bishop of London. After mentioning the long connection between the Swedish and Anglican churches in Pennsylvania, the services of the Swedish missionaries, and

²²*Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, pp. 325-335, Keen, G. B., *The Descendants of Jöran Kyn, The Founder of Upland*.—Perry, *Penna. Papers*, pp. 22-24, 78-80, 452-453.

²³*S. P. G. An. Sermon and Proc.*, 1761, pp. 55-56.—Perry, *Penna. Papers*, pp. 178-179, 288-289, 325-326, 344-346, 356-359, 383-384, 388-389. Montgomery, Morton L., *History of Berks County in Pennsylvania*, pp. 947-950.

especially the friendship of Doctor Wrangel the Provost, he stated that Wrangel desired to unite the German and Swedish Lutherans with the Episcopal Church. He declared that Doctor Smith approved, believing that it might be accomplished through a German and English professorship of divinity in the Philadelphia academy. This plan, although favored by some of the clergy, never was realized. It was soon lost to sight in the shuffle of Revolutionary political interests and may have incurred disfavor among the stricter Churchmen who suspected Wrangel and his friends of too much sympathy with the "Methodists." A possible explanation is found in the intense annoyance of Hugh Neill, the S. P. G. missionary at Oxford, who in 1763 and 1764 reported that Wrangel had tried to establish a "Whitefieldian" lecture in his parish.²⁴

III.

Such a proposal must have seemed unreal, anyhow, to many Episcopalians and Swedish Lutherans who already were fraternizing to a degree that would cause a mild sensation in modern American Church circles. This tendency was furthered by the steady decline of denominational and cultural feeling among the Swedes. Their clergy continually harped upon the neglect of Swedish schools, intermarriage with other nationalities and loss of the Swedish speech. As early as 1774 pastor Göranson of Gloria Dei Church was obliged to have an English-speaking assistant. Some of the Swedes were attracted by "free thought," "New Light" doctrines and the Moravian Brethren, while others lapsed into religious indifference, or were swept away by the turbulent, emotional preaching of George Whitefield and other revivalists. The more conservatively pious often joined the Episcopal Church, either as a result of intermarriage or because the Swedish preacher spoke English poorly, or simply because the Episcopal church was nearer.²⁵

Probably it was no surprise to many that in 1789, when the Swedish language had practically died out, Archbishop Uno von Troil of Uppsala considered it useless to continue the mission and permitted the Swedish clergy to return home. Only Doctor Nicholas Collin remained, as pastor of the churches in Pennsylvania, from 1786 until his much-

²⁴Perry, *Penna. Papers*, pp. 354-355, 360-361, 432-433.

²⁵Reynolds, pp. 35-36.—*Journal of Reinicke and Senseman of their Visit among the Swedes in 1745*, MS.—*Same in Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXXIII, pp. 99-101.—Clay, pp. 114, 118, 119-120, 124, 127.—Acrelius, pp. 332, 333, 350, 351.—*Recs. of Holy Trin. Ch.*, pp. 380, 420-425.—Norberg, pp. 108-114, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155.—Sachse, Julius F., translator, *The Missive of Justus Falckner, of Germantown, Concerning the Religious Condition of Pennsylvania in the Year 1701*, reprinted from *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXI, pp. 216-223 (pp. 7, 15).—*Archivum Americanum, Upsal Documents Relating to the Swedish Churches on the Delaware*, I, pp. 51-64, 107-108, 126 ff., 172-193, 245-294, 335, 336, 345, 395-413, 414-428; II, pp. 8-27, 29-34, 38-56, 57-61, 91-102, 103-106.

lamented death in 1831. He became an "institution" of Philadelphia, active in the learned societies, an authority on the history of the colonial Swedes and a friend of many prominent men of his times, including Franklin and Jefferson. He lived on the most friendly terms with the Episcopal clergy in Philadelphia, with whom he used to meet for cheerful dinner parties, intellectual conversation and discussion of religious topics.²⁶

Once the bond with Sweden was broken, traditional friendship and mutual services led the Swedish churches inevitably towards assimilation with the Episcopalians. By 1789 the Episcopal Church had developed a complete national organization and adopted a prayer book, which must have seemed most attractive to the Swedes in their rather forlorn condition. After Lars Girelius returned to Sweden, the Wilmington church in 1792 engaged the services of the Reverend Joseph Clarkson, an Episcopalian, and in 1796 the vestry awarded the right of membership, under certain conditions, to Episcopalians as well as Lutherans. The transition in New Jersey took place about the same time. In January, 1792, John Croes, later the first bishop of the state, was inducted as rector of Trinity Church, Swedesborough, and in June of that year he attended the diocesan convention. At that time Mr. Samuel Gray, a candidate for orders, was serving old Saint John's Episcopal Church at Salem and Saint George's Swedish Church at Penn's Neck. The latter church, after being served by several other Episcopalian clergymen, erected a new building, which was consecrated by Bishop White of Pennsylvania in 1809. In that year the parish was admitted into union with the Episcopal Church in New Jersey. This change was natural, for the charter of the West Jersey parish, granted in 1765, allowed it to call a Swedish Lutheran clergyman or one approved by the S. P. G. Trinity Church in Swedesborough became distinguished for its piety and zeal and in 1814 was specially noticed as by far the largest parish in the diocese. The names of the lay delegates to the New Jersey diocesan conventions, from Saint John's in Salem and from Trinity, show that the parishes retained some of their Swedish character, for among them are found Sinnickson, Hendrickson, Lock and Rambo.²⁷

In Pennsylvania the change was slower, for while Doctor Collin lived the churches in Philadelphia (Wicacoa), Kingessing and Upper Merion remained nominally Lutheran. Their new charter of 1787, however, permitted them to call an Episcopalian rector, and thereafter Collin

²⁶Clay, pp. 125-126, 127.—*Recs. of Holy Trin. Ch.*, pp. 517-518.—Johnson, *Amandus*, editor, *Journal and Biography of Nicholas Collin*, pp. 45, 119.

²⁷*The Swedes and the P. E. Ch.*, p. 9.—*Recs. of Holy Trin. Ch.*, pp. 526, 527.—*Jour's of N. J. Conven's*, 1785-1816, pp. 101, 102, 104, 106; *Appen., Hist. Sk.*, pp. 75-76, 91-97, 104-107.—*Pennsylvania Journals*, 1809, p. 3.

always had one or more Episcopalian assistants. The first one was Joseph Clarkson, who served from November, 1787, until his removal to Wilmington in 1792. One of the most notable was Jehu C. Clay, who succeeded Collin as rector and wrote the "Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware," a book still cherished by lovers of Pennsylvania history and antiquities. Although in Collin's time Swedish services were still maintained for old-countrymen who settled in Philadelphia, his congregations became more and more English-speaking. In 1846 all three churches were listed in the convention journal of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, with three clergy and two hundred and forty communicants.²⁸

By that time depression and discontent in Scandinavia were stimulating a new Swedish migration to America, which has formed another New Sweden in the Northwest. There the old fellowship of the churches was resumed in 1845, when the Swede, Gustaf Unonius, was ordained and went out from the Anglican school at Nashotah in the Wisconsin woods, to minister to his nearby countrymen for whom a parish had been formed. Thus a new chapter was begun in this story. It has been continued by Bishop Whipple of Minnesota and other apostles to the diverse nationalities of the Northwest, where there are now some Anglican parishes largely composed of Swedish people. Let us pray that the communion will continue towards a reunion in catholic faith and order, imperfectly realized by the Swedes and the Anglicans long ago on the Delaware.²⁹

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²⁸*Swedes and P. E. Ch.*, p. 9.—*Jour. and Biog. of Collin*, pp. 40, 44, 51, 79-80, 85, 92.—*Penna. Jour's*, 1825, pp. 4, 45; 1829, p. 86; 1831, p. 49; 1832, p. 48; 1834, 62, 63; 1835, pp. 69, 70; 1839, p. 81; 1844, p. 106; 1845, p. 104; 1846, pp. 113, 116, 118 and *parochial reports*.

²⁹*Historical Magazine of the P. E. Church, Bishop Kemper Centennial Number, Sept., 1935*, p. 205, under *Kemper's Missionary Episcopate, 1835-1859*, by Edward Rochie Hardy, Jr., Ph. D.

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RICHARD HOOKER WILMER, SECOND BISHOP OF ALABAMA

By Gardiner C. Tucker

THE Right Reverend Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, D. D., first Bishop of Alabama, died on January 11, 1861, at the age of sixty-five. He had been in failing health for some time; in fact, his diocese had insisted upon his taking a vacation of some months, but the strenuous work of his diocese and the hardships he suffered during his visitations, combined with the increasing anxieties of the times, were more than his enfeebled strength could stand. And since he could no longer carry on the work to which he had set his hand, he was glad to go to his final rest. Surrounded by his family and friends, he commended his soul to the hands of his Heavenly Father, and fell asleep.

His last official act was to issue a circular letter to his clergy recommending that in the event of the secession of Alabama from the Union, they should *thereafter* suspend the use of the Prayer for Congress and the Prayer for the President of the United States, to omit the words "Thy servant, the President of the United States", and to substitute the words "all those, Thy servants, in authority over us", until it should be ascertained what name or form of government the Southern States would adopt, or until the ecclesiastical authorities should have taken action in the premises.

The Diocesan Convention met in May, 1861, and to it the Standing Committee, which had become the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese of Alabama upon the death of Bishop Cobbs, reported that they had received the following communication:

University Place
Franklin County, Tenn.

To the Ecclesiastical Authority
of the Diocese of Alabama.

Dear Brethren:

The rapid march of events and the change which has taken place in our civil relations, seem to us, your brethren in the Church, to require an early consultation among the Dioceses of the Confederate States, for the purpose of considering their relations to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, of which they have been so long the equal and happy members.

This necessity does not arise out of any dissension which has occurred within the Church itself, nor out of any dissatisfaction with either the doctrine or the discipline of the Church. We rejoice to record the fact, that we are today, as Churchmen, as truly brethren as we have ever been: and that no deed has been done, nor word uttered, which leaves a single wound rankling in our hearts. We are still one in Faith, in Purpose, and in Hope; but political changes forced upon us by a stern necessity, have occurred, which have placed our Dioceses in a position requiring consultation as to our future ecclesiastical relations. It is better that these relations should be arranged by the common consent of all the Dioceses within the Confederate States than by the independent action of each Diocese. The one will probably lead to harmonious action, the other might produce inconvenient diversity. We propose to you therefore, dear brethren, that you recommend to your Diocesan Convention the appointment of three clerical and three lay deputies, who shall be delegates to meet an equal number of delegates from each of the Dioceses within the Confederate States, at Montgomery in the Diocese of Alabama, on the third day of July next, to consult upon such matters as may have arisen out of the changes in our civil affairs.

We have taken upon ourselves to address you this Circular because we happen to be together and are the Senior Bishops of the Dioceses within the Confederate States.

Very truly yours in Christian bonds,

Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana

Stephen Elliott, Bishop of Georgia

P. S.

We have named a date as the 3rd of July because the Diocesan Convention of South Carolina does not meet this year until the 14th of June.

Long, serious, and at times heated debate followed the reading of this communication, but finally it was decided to accede to the request, and the Rev. Messrs. J. M. Banister and J. M. Mitchell of the clergy, and Messrs. A. W. Ellerbe, J. D. Phelan and F. S. Lyon of the laity, were elected.

It being a time of change, it was quite in keeping that a canon should be presented, dividing the Diocese into three Sees or Bishoprics, to be called respectively, the See of Mobile, the See of Montgomery, and the See of Huntsville. This, too, was provocative of "much disputing" and action was finally postponed until the next convention.

Under the conditions it is not surprising that when the matter of the election of another Bishop came up, the nominee of the clergy, the Rev. William Pinkney of Maryland, was rejected by the laity. Unable to reach a decision that day, Saturday, the convention adjourned until Monday. But the calm quiet of Sunday had no harmonizing effect

upon the members, and so it adjourned until November 21st. On that day it reassembled in St. Paul's Church, Selma, where twenty-two clergymen and the same number of lay delegates answered to their names. The six months' interval had the desired effect in producing harmony, and in a little while it was announced that the Rev. Richard Hooker Wilmer, D. D., had been chosen on the first ballot to be the head of the Diocese of Alabama.

Notification of the election of Dr. Wilmer was sent to the Bishops and Standing Committees of the Church in the Confederate States, the credentials signed, and the Presiding Bishop, William Meade of Virginia, was requested to take order for the consecration which the Convention desired should be in Alabama, and preferably in Mobile. The disordered condition of the country and the ill health of Bishop Meade made compliance with the request for the consecration in Alabama impracticable, so it took place in St. Paul's Church, Richmond, on March 6, 1862, the consecrators being Bishops William Meade of Virginia, John Johns, Assistant Bishop of Virginia, and Stephen K. Elliott of Georgia. This was the last public official act of Bishop Meade; he went from the church to his room which he did not again leave until his body was carried to its tomb March 16th, 1862.

EARLY LIFE AND MINISTRY

Richard Hooker Wilmer, D. D., LL. D.,¹ second Bishop of Alabama and seventy-second in the line of the American Episcopal succession, son of William Holland and Marion Hannah (Cox) Wilmer, was born in Alexandria, Virginia, March 15, 1816. His father was a prominent clergyman in all the affairs of the Church in Virginia for many years, and one of the leaders most responsible for the revival of the Church in Virginia in the early decades of the nineteenth century. In Owen's *Dictionary of Alabama Biography* is given a long list of his ancestors, going back, more or less clearly, to the time of William the Conqueror.

The date of Bishop Wilmer's baptism is not given, but one of his sponsors was Mary Custis, grand-daughter of Martha Custis Washington. His early education was in the schools of Alexandria. He entered Yale College, graduating therefrom in 1836 at the age of twenty. Immediately thereafter he began his studies for the ministry of the Church in the Virginia Theological Seminary at Alexandria, graduating in 1839. He was made a deacon on Easter Day, March 31, in the same year, by

¹*Both of Bishop Wilmer's degrees were given him twice, each by a different institution. That of D. D. was conferred on him first by William and Mary College in 1857 and again by the University of the South, Sewanee, in 1878; that of LL. D. by the University of Oxford in 1867 and again by the University of Alabama in 1886.*

Bishop Richard Channing Moore, and advanced to the priesthood April 19, 1840 by Bishop Meade of Virginia.

His first charge was that of St. Paul's church in Goochland County and St. John's in Fluvanna County. When he began his ministry, there was not one male communicant in the entire flock. But the young clergyman was a "man's man" in every way, entered fully into their life and sports, and showed them that a man could be the true servant of God and yet an "all around good fellow". So he won the respect and affection of the men of his parishes, and they began to follow his leadership into the Church. Before many months the character of his congregations was greatly changed as was also the social and religious life of the whole community.

The Bishop's biographer² gives the following description of him at this period of his life:

"He was in the very flower of young manhood. His thick brown hair grew low over a high, massive forehead, and heavy brown eyebrows overhung his clear blue eyes. The eyes had a way of flashing with the upward glance and changing with his changing thoughts—beaming with benevolence, firing with indignation and sparkling with humor. He had a large straight nose and a broad, straight mouth, firm and, even when in repose, looking severe; but the lips were remarkably mobile and he smiled readily and laughed often—laughed at times 'with his whole man', the hearty laugh of an open-hearted man, who loves to live. He was born a humorist, and could extract from life a degree of amusement which is denied to less fortunate beings who do not understand jokes. His sharp intelligence often turned humor into wit, and he blended the two with happy effect. He was destined from the beginning of his career to acquire a reputation as a sayer of good things which passed from mouth to mouth to make people laugh. An outdoor life and much physical employment had laid the foundation of extraordinary physical strength. . . . He was six feet tall with straight limbs and a chest so deep and broad that it gave the impression that he was shorter than he really was. From early manhood he practiced deep breathing every night and his chest had great expansive power.

"He read the service in a voice which captivated his hearers with its mellowness, and richness, and without the slightest artificial effect the elocution was simple and perfect. When he preached they became aware that while the voice was well modulated it had a great range and was capable of trumpet tones which could carry a great distance. The young minister was a marked personality, and he gave the impression of fearlessness, determination and great strength. It was apparent from the first that such a man, having also a lofty character

²Walter C. Whitaker, "Richard Hooker Wilmer". Philadelphia. George W. Jacobs & Co. 1907.

and rare intellectual endowments, would play no ordinary part in the destinies of the Church."

On October 6, 1840, at the age of twenty-four, Wilmer married Margaret Brown, daughter of Alexander and Lucy Shands (Rives) Brown, her father having migrated from Scotland in 1811, and her mother came of old and honored Virginia stock. One of her contemporaries has thus described her:

"Those who remember her as a bride recall her blonde beauty and great personal charm. Those of us who only remember her in her late years love best to think of the low, musical voice, the sweet gentle nature, the warm sympathetic heart, the sense of innate refinement which threw about her an atmosphere unique in its tender grace, which lingered with her to the end."

Some five years her husband's junior, she was his lifelong helpmeet and companion and survived him. Much of the success of his career was due to her quiet helpfulness and gentle care, a good balance to his masterfulness. Possessed of rich mental endowments, she shared her husband's mental life, reading aloud to him each day not only the lighter literature but the classics and learned works on theology and philosophy.

Naturally his person and work attracted attention and he was called to wider fields. After declining several calls from within and without the diocese, he accepted in 1843 the rectorship of St. James' Church, Wilmington, North Carolina, the largest and most important parish in the state. But the work of a city parish was very distasteful to him. He said that it left him no time to think or write with care, and he could not speak with the force and freedom that he loved. He was at heart a missionary and he felt himself "cribb'd, cabin'd and confin'd" by the requirements of urban social life. Besides, the climate of Wilmington was not suited either to his own health or that of his family; so he stayed less than a year, and his rectorship was not productive of any special results.

Hastening back to rural work in Virginia, he took charge of Grace church, Berryville, with mission duty in Clarke county, near where Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland now meet. Here he stayed from 1844 to 1849, the longest pastorate he ever held.

In 1849 an ominous and most discouraging breakdown compelled him to spend almost the whole of the ensuing year regaining his health. Before he was fully recovered he moved to Upperville, in charge of work in Loudoun and Fauquier counties, and there spent three peaceful years

(1850-1853) which brought such healing on their wings that he was never again compelled to lay aside his work because of physical infirmity.

In 1853 Mr. Wilmer removed to Forest in Bedford county, just west of Lynchburg, reviving the work initiated by his friend, Nicholas Hamner Cobbs, then Bishop of Alabama, whose successor there also Wilmer was to be. Some fourteen years had elapsed since Cobbs had left the field and the interim had not been a healthy one. Wilmer did much to strengthen the stakes if he did not much lengthen the cords. In spite of the supposedly circumscribed, monotonous life of a rural missionary, he himself was growing in mental and spiritual power, for he was a conscientious student. He was fortifying himself for the life of greater activity which was bound to come.

In 1858, at the age of forty-two, the summons to a larger, harder work came in the form of a call to found an entirely new work, that of Emmanuel Church at Brook Hill, Henrico County, four miles north of Richmond. Back in 1842, Wilmer had been pressed into preaching a mission in Monumental Church, Richmond, which lasted for several weeks with three services a day. The interest was intense. Among the congregation which flocked daily to Monumental was a young Scotchman, John Stewart, who was seeking a church home. A strong friendship grew up between Wilmer and Stewart and eventually the latter was confirmed.

During the sixteen intervening years Stewart had prospered greatly, had established his country home at Brook Hill, and being one of those godly, conscientious laymen who take their religion seriously, he was concerned over the spiritual ignorance and neglect of the many extremely poor people who lived around him. Perceiving the need, he proceeded to act, and turned to his friend Wilmer as the leader of the spiritual responsibilities, while he assumed the temporal. After careful consideration for four months, Wilmer accepted and pledged himself to give at least three years to the project.

When Wilmer undertook this new task in December, 1858, it was commonly believed both within and without the Church that the Episcopal Church was not suited to the unlearned and uncultured. Wilmer and Stewart between them conclusively disproved this theory. John and Daniel Stewart gave almost eight acres of land for church, rectory and burying ground. Large congregations and confirmation classes soon attested the success of the work; a church was built at a cost of \$13,000, all but \$100 of the cost being paid by John Stewart and his brother Daniel. On July 8, 1860, it was consecrated by Bishop Johns.

The year 1859 was destined to be the most momentous thus far in Wilmer's life. He was elected a deputy to the General Convention of

that year, meeting in Richmond, and the College of William and Mary conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His future assistant bishop elect, Dr. John S Lindsay,³ then a student there, thus described the impression which Wilmer made upon the students:

“He was then a comparatively young man—virile and robust in his teachings, sympathetic, hopeful, and cheerful in the tone of his whole life. He gave me at the time an impression of practical Christianity that was far more pleasing than the hard, dry presentation of it that was then so common in our churches and homes. It was not difficult to understand the exceptional influence that he was said to exert over men. He was intensely human and splendidly manly.”

Dr. Wilmer was not impressed by the unwritten rule that a new deputy to General Convention should be seen and not heard. He took a prominent part in the debates and his gift of wit and repartee made him an effective debater. A resolution was introduced designating Chicago as the meeting place of the next Convention, that of 1862. The then Bishop of Illinois, Dr. Whitehouse, had created considerable controversy by refusing to live in his diocese, preferring to reside in New York. When the resolution came up with the usual proviso, “the House of Bishops concurring,” Dr. Wilmer moved to amend by substituting for the customary formula the words, “the Bishop of Illinois concurring,” “for”, he said, and the Convention uproariously agreed with him, “we ought not to go into a man’s diocese unless we are certain of finding him at home.”

The General Convention of 1859 was noteworthy for several things. It was the last before the Civil War; the intellectual average of its laity was extraordinarily high, some fourteen, for example, being Chief Justices of their respective states; four bishops were consecrated on one and the same day, but not in the same place, (the only parallel case having been that of the General Convention of 1832): Odenheimer as third Bishop of New Jersey and Bedell as Coadjutor of Ohio were consecrated in St. Paul’s Church; Gregg as first Bishop of Texas in Monumental; and Whipple as first Bishop of Minnesota in St. James’. The remarkably good feeling of the Convention was not endangered until near the close when the news of John Brown’s raid on Harper’s Ferry charged the atmosphere with tension. Before another convention of bishops and deputies from both the North and the South would meet as a united family, six years were to pass, a devastating war was to be fought, passions were to run high, and Richard Hooker Wilmer was to be consecrated a Bishop in the Church of God, the only bishop consecrated for and by the Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America.

³*Dr. Lindsay declined the election.*

A BISHOP IN WAR-TIME

Delaying only long enough after his consecration on March 6, 1862, to set his domestic affairs in order, Bishop Wilmer hastened to his new post, and on March 16th preached his first sermon in St. John's Church, Montgomery. It was the day after his forty-sixth birthday and he was in the full vigor of his ripened manhood. Tall, well built and well proportioned, hair and beard full and heavy but no mustache, keen blue eyes that could flash with indignant fire or twinkle with humor, strong resonant voice, dignified in bearing, having a rapier-like wit which he did not always use with discretion, he was a splendid specimen of the Southern gentleman of the old school. Physically and mentally he was well qualified for the heavy task that lay before him.

Alabama is a large state, 336 miles long by 175 wide, containing 51,998 square miles with wide differentiation of physical characteristics, soil, climate and people, and at that time containing only 526,271 citizens. Incidentally I may say that Col. William H. Fowler, State Superintendent of Army Records, shows in his reports that about 122,000 Alabamians served in the Confederate forces, over one-fifth of the total population. He says: "I assert with confidence that Alabama sent more troops into service, in proportion to her population, than any other Southern state, and that her loss was heavier, irrespective of proportion."

The parishes and missions that comprised the Diocese were twenty-nine in number, manned by thirty clergymen. These were scattered from Huntsville on the north to Mobile on the coast. Except along the rivers, the means of communication were scanty and difficult. About a quarter of the northern part of the State was occupied by Federal troops, skirmishes between the opposing forces, amounting almost to small battles, were of constant occurrence, while all the Gulf ports were blockaded by the Federal fleet.

The difficulties and dangers that confronted the new bishop might well have daunted the strongest spirit. No weakling could have endured the strain six months. In the first place, he was new to his diocese. Although well known by reputation to its leaders, he was only a name to the majority of his people. In the six weeks between March 16th and his first diocesan convention (May 1st), he was able to visit only the southern portion of the diocese. At that convention, before which he preached on his favorite text: "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people," only 15 clergymen and 19 lay delegates were in attendance. In the second place, the state was hemmed in by enemies on every side, with most of its man power under arms, a large portion of them some distance away; with a currency of

small and unstable value; with congregations reduced to women, children, invalid men and negroes; and with a steadily increasing number of homeless women and children to be cared for in some way, whose only hope of help and comfort was in their God and in His Church. Who could have blamed him if he had yielded to despair? But he did not.

Within six months (November 12, 1862), he attended the General Council of the Church in the Confederate States of America, meeting for ten days in Augusta, Georgia. Bishop Wilmer acted as secretary of the House of Bishops, consisting of eleven members, and was a member of the committees on Amendments to the Constitution and Foreign Missions. Opposed to change merely for the sake of change and generally upholding the rule, "Let ancient custom prevail," he tested antiquity with reasonableness. He opposed the proposition to eliminate "Protestant Episcopal" from the Church's legal title and substitute therefor "Holy Catholic", on the ground that a branch of the Church could not properly claim for itself what was true only of the whole, and could not usurp to itself what it denied to the Roman Church.

Two particulars of the pastoral letter of the House of Bishops, written by the president, Bishop Elliott of Georgia, gave the Bishop of Alabama immediate objectives for his own diocese. They were: religious instruction of the negroes and spiritual ministrations to soldiers in camp and hospital.

It may seem surprising that in war time advance work among the negroes should have been undertaken. Numerous chapels were erected by the planters for their slaves and several devoted priests, such as Stickney, Cushman, Jarratt, Christian, Menaeos, and Nevius, ministered faithfully to them. Bishop Wilmer confirmed 45 negroes in the first year of his episcopate, 39 in the second, and 52 in the third.

The Bishop was also concerned in caring for the soldiers, but he was not stampeded into adopting the opinion of some who urged that the churches should be closed and the clergy sent to the front. He contended that the future and permanent interests of society must be served. As the war proceeded, the army chaplains from Alabama were largely recruited from the dispossessed clergy whose churches were forcibly closed.

In his address to his second diocesan convention, that of 1863, Dr. Wilmer said:

"O let us strive to rise to the height of the great argument which God is holding with us. God would rather see us suffer than continue in sin, for it is sin, not suffering, that is the sting of death. A vast responsibility develops upon us, brethren beloved of the clergy. What a work opens to our view

when we consider the relation of the Church to the world and of the ministry to the Church! Let us then strive in all things to approve ourselves as ministers of God."

He finished by quoting St. Paul's brave words in II Corinthians 6:4-16.

To this stirring appeal of the bishop, clergy and people responded heartily. Services in practically all the churches were maintained regularly and new missions were opened. Where there was a great scarcity of money to pay the ministers, the people gave liberally of their provisions. No one suffered hunger, although the fare was necessarily limited in variety and salt was not plentiful. In several cases the bishop advanced money to clergymen in dire need upon his personal responsibility. This would never have been known but for necessary entries in certain accounts. These hardships served to intensify the spiritual life. Confirmations were at a high level: 337 being reported to the convention of 1864, and 227 in 1865, the year of the surrender.

One of the first effects of the war was the increase in the number of orphans, many of them destitute. St. John's, Montgomery, led the way in undertaking the systematic care of orphans by establishing the "Bishop Cobbs Orphans' Home", which was in operation throughout the entire conflict.

A second successful orphans' home was that of Tuscaloosa, established by the generosity of church people there and in Selma, Demopolis, Faunsdale, and the bishop's own home, Greensboro. Some \$50,000 was raised of which \$30,000 was used to buy the necessary ground and to erect a dwelling and schoolhouse. That left \$10,000 for endowment and \$10,000 for current expenses. In conjunction with the home a parochial school of 50 pupils was conducted.

This was remarkable in view of the heavy taxation. Starting with a property tax of eight per cent, there were license taxes on various occupations, a graded income tax, a tax of ten per cent on profits from the sale of foodstuffs and a few other commodities, and a tax in kind, a sort of tithe, on the products of agriculture.

The success attending the orphans' home opened the way for Dr. Wilmer to carry out a purpose that was very dear to his heart. It was a matter that he felt his office as bishop qualified him to undertake. Among those who had been left homeless and without occupation by the war were a number of refined, educated women of middle age. His plan was to gather these women into an institution where they could do useful work and also be trained for parochial and mission duty, and then sent out to such parishes and missions in the diocese as needed and desired their help. The newly secured home offered the desired location, the care of the children the occupation, and possibly a school

for girls could be added. The bishop was prompt to take advantage of the situation, and in his report to the convention of 1865 he said:

“On December 20th, 1864, I preached at Christ Church, Tuscaloosa, and set apart with due solemnities, three devout women to the work of ministering to the afflicted and destitute.”

He did not specify just what order of “solemnities” he used, but from the fact that in the same report he speaks of them as “sisters”, and in his address calls them “deaconesses”, it seems evident that he had ordered them deaconesses of the diocese of Alabama. His American precedents were the acts of Dr. Muhlenberg in setting apart one woman to do the work of deaconess in the parish of the Holy Communion, New York City, in 1845, and of Bishop Whittingham in instituting a similar order in St. Andrew’s church, Baltimore, in 1855. Dr. Wilmer felt that as bishop he had full authority to do this but no more. But when in 1892 the General Convention adopted a canon recognizing the order of deaconess as part of the American Episcopal Church, he felt that he could go further. On the Feast of the Purification, February 2, 1895, at a service in St. John’s, Mobile, in which all of the clergy of the city took part, he advanced the seven sisters then in the order, to the rank of deaconesses of the whole American Episcopal Church. For the governance of the order the bishop established a constitution and canons, of which I still have a copy.

Bishop Wilmer never allowed the affairs of the Home to become matters of official diocesan concern. He said he was the father of the Home and its inmates were his sisters and children; and that he had never heard of a happy home having more than one father, or of allowing its private life to become public property.

This particular “father” was also a very good provider and skillful financier. In 1867 the Home was moved from Tuscaloosa to Mobile. To have carried it through the depressing days of reconstruction was a feat in itself; but his business sagacity was so great that he never made a bad investment in the thirty-three years of his management of its finances, and when he died he had large holdings of real estate for the Home in Mobile and a well secured endowment of \$40,000.

Soon after the Home’s removal to Mobile, the proposed school for girls was opened. The work that these saintly women of the sisterhood accomplished would make a volume in itself, worthy of a place in the archives of the Church. There is no place for it in this article.

THE BATTLE FOR THE CHURCH'S FREEDOM

When the Confederate government had been organized and the Church had become "The Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America", the prayer for the President of the United States was necessarily changed to that for the President of the Confederate States. After the surrender, when the Confederate States as such had ceased to be, the question arose as to whether the prayer for the President of the United States and all in civil authority should be used in the diocese of Alabama. Bishop Wilmer issued a pastoral letter on the subject, dated June 20, 1865, in which he said:

"To pray for all in authority is, unquestionably, a duty, but a duty of religious, and not of political, origin and obligation. The mode of discharging that duty must be determined by the proper ecclesiastical authority. Consequently, any attempt on the part of a civil or military power to dictate to the Church in this matter cannot but be regarded as unauthorized and intrusive. Certain tests of loyalty have been established by authority, and they who faithfully conform to these tests have fulfilled the requirements of the law, and have a right, in equity and under the Constitution of the country, to manage their ecclesiastical affairs according to their own discretion.

... "Now the Church in this country has established a form of prayer 'for the President and all in civil authority'. The language of that prayer was selected with careful reference to the subject of the prayer—'all in civil authority'; and she desires for that authority prosperity and long continuance. No one can reasonably be expected to desire a long continuance of military rule. Therefore, the prayer is altogether inappropriate and inapplicable to the present condition of things, when no civil authority exists in the exercise of its functions. . . .

"When the Civil Authority shall be restored, it will be eminently proper for the Church to resume the use of that form of prayer which has been established by the highest ecclesiastical authorities, and which has for so many years constituted a part of her Liturgy. . . .

"My conclusion is, therefore, and my direction which I hereby give, that when civil authority shall be restored in the State of Alabama, the Clergy shall use the form entitled, 'A Prayer for the President of the United States and all in Civil Authority,' as it stands in the Book of Common Prayer.

"And my counsel to the Clergy and Laity is, to heed the teachings of the Church in regard to the Scriptural obedience due to 'the powers that be;' and, whilst carefully maintaining the inherent prerogatives of the Church within her sphere, faithfully to discharge their duties to the State; thus fulfilling the injunction of our Lord—'Render unto Caesar the things

that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.

"The doctrine of the Church upon this point is briefly, but most comprehensively, summed up in her 37th Article of Religion: 'The Power of the Civil Magistrate extendeth to all men, as well Clergy as Laity, in all things temporal; but hath no authority in things purely spiritual. . . .'"

This pastoral was implicitly obeyed by all the clergy of the diocese, but it greatly irked the Federal officers, particularly Major General Thomas, in command of the Military Division of the Tennessee, to which the Department of Alabama belonged. General Thomas was a Virginian and Bishop Wilmer had caustically characterized him as a "renegade." He ordered Major General Charles B. Woods, in command of the Department of Alabama, to investigate. It was understood that he intended to teach the rebels the lesson that they could not hide their disloyalty under the cloak of a compliance with the teachings of their religion. As soon as Bishop Wilmer heard of this, he hastened to Mobile from Greensboro so as to be in the field of action. No sooner had he reached the city than a staff officer of General Woods came to him and demanded to know when he proposed to use the prayer for the President of the United States. Tone and manner were highly discourteous and the Bishop declined to answer. What followed is graphically told by Dr. Whitaker in his biography of the bishop:⁴

"The officer then proposed to talk the matter over 'as between man and man.'

"The Bishop acceded to this proposition, and the officer asked: 'When do you think that you will use the Prayer Book prayer for the President?'

" 'When you all get away from here,' was the reply of the Bishop; and he then asked the officer if, with conditions reversed and the Confederate heel on the neck of the Union, he could sincerely ask for life, health, and prosperity to the Confederate President?

"The officer excitedly exclaimed that he would be—something very dreadful—if he would.

" 'Well,' returned the Bishop, 'I am not disposed to use your phraseology; but, if I do that thing that you come to order me to do—address the Almighty with my lips, when my heart is not in my prayer—I run great danger of meeting the doom that you have hypothetically invoked upon your own head.' "

With this the interview closed, and a few days later, September 20, 1865, General Woods issued his famous "General Orders, No. 38",

⁴*Whitaker, Walter C., "Richard Hooker Wilmer", Philadelphia, Geo W. Jacob & Co., 1907. Pp. 128-9.*

in which, after a long review of the case, the following pertinent paragraph appears:

"It is therefore ordered, pursuant to the instructions of Major General Thomas, commanding the military division of the Tennessee, that said Richard Wilmer, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Alabama, and the Protestant Episcopal clergy of said diocese be, and they are hereby, forbidden to preach or perform divine service, and that their places of worship be closed, until such time as said Bishop and clergy show a sincere return to their allegiance to the Government of the United States, and give evidence of a loyal and patriotic spirit by offering to resume the use of the prayer for the President of the United States and all in civil authority, and by taking the amnesty oath prescribed by the President. . . ."

As soon as he had seen this order, the Bishop wrote to General Woods to ascertain if he intended to use military force in case the clergy of the diocese should disregard their suspension by him. The General curtly replied that it was his purpose to use military force in closing the churches should his order be disobeyed. The Bishop thereupon advised that until the order was revoked or the military force withdrawn, no attempt to worship in public would be made.

On the Sunday following the issuance of this order, I have been informed, a file of soldiers visited each of the three city churches at the time of service and finding them closed, marched back to their barracks. My informant said she was quite sure that this show of force was only made once. From all that I can learn the people rather enjoyed this military tyranny. For of course services were held in private houses all over the city and in the country no attention was paid to the prohibition. The Bishop administered confirmation and people were baptized, married and buried—all with an exhilarating sense of defiance of the Yankee soldiers. Naturally, all this infuriated the Federal commanding officer, but since all of the clergy had taken the oath and no *public* services were held in which the prayer for the President was omitted from the liturgy, there was nothing he could do.

Appeals to other authorities having failed, Bishop Wilmer, on November 27th, appealed directly to President Johnson, basing his plea on the ground that the Constitution, the supreme law of the land, prohibits Congress from interfering with religious worship, and that Congress cannot allow her military arm to do what the Constitution expressly forbids to her civil arm; representing that he found himself, not having been accused as a lawbreaker, subjected to the operation of pains and penalties, and assailed with ignominious epithets; affirming that

even upon the inadmissible supposition that he had been guilty of violating the laws of his own Church, the secular power was not competent to construe and enforce her rubrics and canons; and demanding in equity and constitutional law that the unauthoritative General Order No. 38 be rescinded.

After keeping this appeal under advisement for several weeks, President Johnson formally gave instructions that the order should be rescinded by the same authority that had promulgated it. This was a bitter pill for the military administration in general, and Major General Thomas in particular, to swallow; but there was no help for it. Consequently, on December 22, 1865, General Thomas issued General Order No. 40. This was a remarkable document and I wish there were space to quote it in full. It practically amounts to an official military excommunication of a bishop of the Church for daring to be true to his duty as a clergyman and for maintaining the constitutional right of religious liberty, issued by a major general of the United States Army. It is the only instance of such action in the history of the United States. Let us hope it will be the last.

After applying various epithets to the bishop of Alabama, accusing him of "being animated with the same spirit which through temptation beguiled the mother of men to the commission of the first sin—thereby entailing eternal toil and trouble on earth," and of taking "advantage of the sanctity of his position to mislead the minds of those who naturally regarded him as a teacher in whom they could trust," and attempting "to lead them back into the labyrinths of treason," and "that religious matters were but a secondary consideration in his mind, he having taken an early opportunity to subvert the Church to the justification and dissemination of his treasonable sentiments," the order concludes with this significant paragraph:

"As it is, however, manifest that so far from entertaining the same political views as Bishop Wilmer the people of Alabama are honestly endeavoring to restore civil authority in that state, in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution of the United States, and to repudiate their acts of hostility during the past four years, and have accepted with a loyal and becoming spirit the magnanimous terms offered them by the President; *therefore, the restrictions heretofore imposed upon the Episcopal clergy of Alabama are removed, and Bishop Wilmer is left to that remorse of conscience consequent to exposure and failure of the diabolical schemes of designing and corrupt minds.*"⁵

⁵*Italics mine.*

On January 13, 1866, civil authority having been restored, Bishop Wilmer sent out another pastoral letter, calling on the clergy and laity to use the prayer for the President of the United States.

The Bishop was severely criticized for many years for his position in this affair, but thirty years after, no one disputed the conclusion of William Stevens Perry, historiographer of the American Church, and himself a Northerner :

“This action of the Bishop established for all time to come, in this land at least, the principle that in spiritualities the Church’s rule is supreme.”

BISHOP WILMER AND THE GENERAL CONVENTION

Bishop Wilmer’s position among the southern bishops was unique: not only was he a bishop of the Church in the Confederate States of America, but he alone had been consecrated as such and was, in his own view, as much a *foreign* bishop as one of the Church of England. But the Church in the North did not accept this view and the roll call in the General Convention of 1862 invariably began with Alabama and included all the southern dioceses. How the restoration was to be effected was the problem.

With the fall of the Confederacy and the approach of the General Convention of 1865, some course of action was imperative. Opinion among the southern bishops was divided. Bishops Johns of Virginia, Atkinson of North Carolina, and Lay of the Southwest claimed that the dissolution of the Confederacy automatically carried with it the dissolution of the Southern Church as a separate body, that formal action was unnecessary, and that all that was necessary was to return to the General Convention.

But the majority led by Elliott of Georgia, Green of Mississippi and Wilmer of Alabama, contended that this view was erastian and un-catholic because it ignored the independence of church and state. In their opinion the determining factor in reunion with the northern Church was expediency. In that connection they wanted to know how they were to be received by the General Convention.

John Henry Hopkins, Bishop of Vermont and Presiding Bishop, was a power in holding the southern bishops in line. His well known pro-slavery views made him particularly *persona grata* to southerners. The immediate result was that Bishops Atkinson and Lay attended the General Convention of 1865 and, being cordially received, the door was opened for the others to return.

By resolution the House of Bishops stated that it “hereby accepts the Right Rev. Dr. Wilmer as Bishop of Alabama, and consents to his

episcopate as such, provided, that the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies is willing to signify its concurrence in such acceptance and consent, and that hereafter the Bishop of Alabama shall transmit to the Presiding Bishop the promise of Conformity." A minority in the House of Deputies opposed this, largely because they could not separate their political from their ecclesiastical opinions. Opposition was finally silenced and the action of the House of Bishops was ratified by an all but unanimous vote.

Immediately thereafter the dissolution of the General Council of the Southern Church was brought to pass and absolute freedom of action was accorded every southern diocese. On January 17, 1866, Dr. Wilmer summoned a special diocesan council, submitted to it his whole course of action, obtained enthusiastic confirmation of what he had done, and then by formal resolution the Church of Alabama resumed its old-time relation to the national Church.

On January 31, 1866, Bishop Wilmer in Trinity Chapel, New York City, in the presence of the Presiding Bishop and others, made the prescribed Declaration of Conformity and united with them in the service of the Holy Communion. By special request he afterwards addressed the faculty and students of the General Theological Seminary.

The significance of the reunion the Bishop well stated a few months after all had been settled:

"We are able to show the world that we are not a sect, much less a sectional sect; that the catholic spirit of the Southern dioceses has met with a like response in the catholic spirit of the Northern dioceses—'deep calling unto deep'—giving us confidence that henceforth, as ever before, no political differences shall prevail to break the bonds of catholic unity and of Heaven-born charity."

Through the generosity of friends in his diocese, Bishop Wilmer was able to attend the first Lambeth Conference in 1867. His somewhat unusual relation to the Church in this country and his stand for religious liberty against military injustice, had made him well known in England. His strong personality gained him much favor. He preached in several English churches, one of them being St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and the University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of LL.D.

When the church people of Mobile learned that Bishop Wilmer had selected their city as his place of residence, they manifested their appreciation by offering him the choice of three city houses. He declined them all, selecting instead a tract of some six or seven acres on top of Spring Hill ridge, where he had a house built according to his

own designs. It was a large, comfortable frame house with wide porches, resting on brick pillars about six feet above ground, affording abundant ventilation. In a few years he had surrounded it with a high, luxuriant hedge which was the joy of his heart. He called it "God's green wall" which shielded him from the world. There was a large garden and a good sized pasture for his horses and cows.

He said that he chose this location for several reasons: first, because he wanted to be away from the noise and confusion of city life; he desired "elbow room"; then he needed peace and quiet for study and meditation. No one would take the trouble to come away out there unless they really wanted to see him, or had matters that required his attention. As his early ministry showed, he was always at heart a "country parson."

And truly, it was not an easy matter to get out to Spring Hill in those days. There was a fairly good road, but a fourteen mile buggy ride took a large part of a day and was wearisome. There was a street car line, but the cars were miserably small affairs, the track quite "bumpy", and the tractors were small mules, about the size of Mexican burros, and the only way by which they could be urged out of a walk was by the constant use of a whip. I used to think that the drivers worked about as hard as the mules to make schedule time. Incidentally, the front platform of every car was dented and battered by the steel shod heels of the mules as they resented some especially touching caresses of the whip.

In bad weather these mules were unable to pull the cars up the steep Spring Hill grade, and teams of oxen were used to help them. Some time in the '90's the mules were displaced by steam driven dummies with larger and better cars. This was a great improvement, but the people of Spring Hill and along the line complained bitterly of the smoke and noise of the trains. As the road bed was poor, a dummy would occasionally amuse itself by jumping the track and taking an excursion along the dirt road. Then the passengers would have to wait until the dummy could be coaxed back on the rails again, or else pursue their journey on foot. I early learned to equip myself with a book and some cigars when I started for Spring Hill.

But in spite of all these hardships, the people, and especially the clergy, loved to go out to see the bishop. He was hospitable in the old Virginia fashion and it was difficult to get away from his house without eating at least one meal. There were always cake and wine on the sideboard, with cigars and tobacco galore. The affection which drew his clergy to him was mutual. He loved to have us come out and insisted that we should do no work on Mondays, but devote those days

to relaxation and pleasure. When he was at home we always considered Monday as "consecrated" to the bishop, and unless impossible went out there. He was fond of billiards and one of the first furnishings of his house was a large billiard table. He was skillful with the cue, would often challenge us to a game, and great was his delight over a victory. But he was a good loser and always took his defeats smilingly. The scores were carefully recorded and discussed. Some of the clergy became experts; Dr. John Fulton of Christ Church was, I think, the champion.

As I have said, Bishop Wilmer had a keen and caustic wit, with a wide and comprehensive understanding of human nature. Sham and pretense of any kind he abhorred. Interesting stories of his skill in dissecting the Pharisaical characteristics of people whom we both knew could be written, but charity prevents the telling. Yet he was exceedingly gentle and compassionate with penitent transgressors and those who were "out of the way." One saying of his I shall never forget. It was to the effect that when he was young, he considered that a good memory was one of the most valuable traits a minister could possess. But experience had taught him that while a retentive memory was indeed a blessing, a good and effective "forgettery" was often much better. God says that He forgives and forgets injuries; it is only beasts and bestial men who remember and cherish them.

Another remark of his was that he knew numbers of good people who dutifully brought their burdens to the Lord, left them at His feet, and went away. But pretty soon they felt so lonesome and unballasted without them that they quietly slipped behind His back, picked them up and went their ways, happily miserable.

He told me, too, about an incident at a dinner party in New York which he attended on his first visit to that city after the surrender. A gentleman at the table asked him as to the feeling of the Southern people since the war. Instantly the bishop replied: "We feel like Lazarus, sir." No sooner had he spoken than he regretted the words, but could not recall them. His questioner asked the meaning of his reply. The bishop tried to change the subject, but the other was persistent. Finally the bishop said, "I am afraid that if I told you the meaning of the conundrum, you would be offended and your feelings hurt." But the other replied that no reply would give offense. "Well," said Bishop Wilmer, "If you must know, we all feel like Lazarus because he was licked by dogs." The Northern man's face flushed and he said, "Well, sir, if you at the South consider us dogs, why do you come up here to beg for money?" In a flash the bishop answered, "Because, sir, in the South we believe in the proverb that the hair of the dog is good for

the bite." His red-faced questioner did not join in the resulting laughter, but next morning he sent the bishop a check for \$1,000 for the orphanage.

That keen wit and ready tongue of his sometimes made trouble in the diocese. One very earnest, faithful rector said that it always took him a month to get his parish calmed down and to quiet the hurt feelings after one of the bishop's visitations.

Passing through a cemetery one day he noted a handsome monument over a grave on which was carved, "The light of my life has gone out." It was a husband's loving tribute to a departed wife. In the conversation which followed the remark was made that the grief stricken husband had found consolation in a comparatively short time by marrying again. "Why of course," said the bishop, "Being in the dark he simply struck another match."

His coadjutor, Bishop Jackson, was an eloquent and forceful preacher, but he had a habit while preaching of constantly shaking his head. Commenting on this Bishop Wilmer said: "Well, whatever faults Bishop Jackson may have, no one can say that he is 'no great shakes' as a preacher."

Dr. William Holland Wilmer, the eminent oculist and the bishop's son, desired to change his office and residence in Washington and asked his father's judgment as to the best street to select. "My son," responded the bishop instantly, "there are only two suitable streets in Washington for an oculist—C street and I street." The son moved to I street.

Bishop Wilmer lived to the ripe old age of 84, dying June 14, 1900. By the irony of fate, one very special wish of the bishop's was entirely ignored by his people from the high motives of love, respect and admiration on their part. Several times I heard him say in conversation that he had often noticed the large and very heavy monuments that had been placed over the graves of men and women of note. These always suggested to his mind that possibly the heirs and survivors of the departed ones were haunted by the fear that he or she who lay beneath that pile would not entirely approve of the disposition of the property which they had left behind them, which they had guarded with such jealous care during their earthly life, or of their personal conduct. Hence they had placed the remains in sealed coffins and heaped over the grave an enormous weight of stone which neither man nor ghost could easily remove.

"I suppose some kind of a marker will be placed over my grave, and I've thought it might be wise to go to Maddox's (one of the local monument makers) and pick it out. I don't want a large one. I don't

want to die. I've never seen a place I'd like to be buried. But when I do leave this world I shall leave it for good in every sense of the word, and I shall never come back. I feel that I have already built my real monument in the shape of the Church Home, and I could not have a better. If my friends feel that they want to give me a memorial, let them add the money to the endowment of the Home."

I do not believe that this wish of his was generally known, for soon after his death his friends in North Alabama started a fund for a memorial to him which was quickly subscribed. The plans were already in the hands of the workmen before I knew anything of the project, and under all the circumstances it seemed best to say nothing. I had a part in the dedication service and fulfilled it, but in my heart I asked his pardon and promised a full explanation and apology when I met him in the other world. This I will surely do.

Bishop Wilmer was a splendid man in every way. As priest and bishop as well as in all social relations, he well and worthily filled his high office. He was also so humanly virile that he drew and held the affections of his people, even of those who sometimes resented his trenchant wit, or differed widely from his views. He was a fit and worthy companion of those great men, both of the North and the South, who made American history in the last half of the Nineteenth Century.

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THE BEGINNING OF THE CHURCH IN LIBERIA

By A. B. Parson

The following historical notes aim to give an outline of the background and beginnings of the work of this Church in Liberia. Its fragmentary nature makes it necessary to pass over a wealth of human interest, and many names and incidents that belong to the annals of the first years of the Church's apostles in West Africa.

I. SLAVERY.

LIBERIA is a unique experiment in human salvage, made necessary because of the institution of slavery. In 1442 a Portuguese explorer, Anthony Gonzalez, took ten Negro slaves from the west coast of Africa. Within a few years thirty ships sailed from Lisbon to engage in slave traffic. In 1620 Dutch traders introduced slavery on the James River, Virginia. By 1680 the yearly export of slaves from Africa was 20,000, with a mortality in transit of 14 per cent. In 1798 the yearly average had grown to 85,000, and in 1835 it was 136,000; of which about 25 per cent died on the voyage across the Atlantic.

Sir Thomas Buxton, of England, in 1840, after long research, claimed that the annual toll of victims due to the slave trade was 500,000, including those who perished in resistance to seizure, march to the coast, detention and ocean passage. Of every thousand slaves captured, 700 were sacrificed in the progress and only 300 arrived for sale in the market.

Aroused by such public revelations, leaders in England and America started influences that led to the freeing of many slaves and plans for their colonization. Sierra Leone, on the coast of West Africa, was made a colony for free slaves in 1787. Most of the Negroes in that colony had been soldiers in the British Army and Navy in the American Revolution. In 1807 slavery was declared illegal in Great Britain, and slaves thereafter captured on the high seas were brought to Sierra Leone. The same year the colony became a Crown possession. Many of the leaders in the plans for colonization had been members of the Church of England, whose motives for humanitarian work for the Negroes were both philanthropic and religious. In 1804 the Church Missionary Society instituted Christian work in the colony.



Native Town. Church of the Epiphany. Residence of Bishop and Mission Family. Native Christian Village.

MISSION BUILDINGS AT CAVALLA, WEST AFRICA.

II. AMERICAN COLONIZATION.

Freed slaves in the American Colonies by 1790 aggregated 60,000. Yearly emancipations from 1790 on ran from 15,000 to 37,000. By 1820 the freed population was 240,000; in 1830, 320,000; in 1840, 386,000. Many were slaveholders against their conscience, and while forced to live under the institution of slavery made every effort to secure freedom for as many Negroes as possible. Thomas Jefferson in 1781 advocated the gradual abolition of slavery by enfranchisement, deportation and colonization. General Kosciuszko, by his will, dated 1798 (probated in 1842), left all of his property in the United States for the purchase, emancipation and education of slaves. George Washington provided in his will for the emancipation of all of his slaves. John Adams wanted slavery extirpated, and others whose voices were raised for freedom for the Negro were Franklin, Madison, Monroe, Hamilton and Patrick Henry. Jefferson had said, "I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just".

The freed slave had little opportunity for education and the other rights of a citizen. Even in New England Negroes could not attend school, though subject to taxation. They easily fell into low moral habits and became a problem that gave great concern to the nation. In almost every New England village freed Negroes lived on the outskirts in a hand-to-mouth existence; in the South they were increasingly numerous and a growing menace to ordered life.

The Rev. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, Rhode Island, himself once a slave owner, proposed in 1773 that Christian missionary work should be prosecuted in Africa by freed Negroes from America, to be retained for such service in this country. The people of Newport, Boston, Cambridge and other Northern cities were still engaged in the slave trade and derived much of their wealth from this source. James Monroe, while Governor of Virginia, had corresponded with Thomas Jefferson about the feasibility of colonizing freed blacks in Africa. Another who promoted public interest in colonization was Samuel J. Mills, a brilliant Williams College student, well-known as the first one to promote the Christian missionary cause for the propagation of the Gospel throughout the world. This young man was deeply concerned at the condition of the Negro people. "We must save the Negroes or the Negroes will ruin us," said this pioneer, who was later to give his life on a return journey from Africa investigating the possibilities of African colonization. Mills, with the Rev. Robert Finley, of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), established a short-lived school at Parsippany, New Jersey, for the education of Negroes to take the lead in Christian colonization.

There was a difference of opinion as to the locality of the projected colonization. Some urged unoccupied lands in the United States, others in the West Indies. Some slaves actually journeyed to Santo Domingo. Haiti was proposed, but was rejected because the French language was spoken there. A group of 1,200 Negroes emigrated to Nova Scotia, but found the climate and soil unfavorable. The west coast of Africa was finally accepted. It was the natural locality, since it was from this region that the slaves had come originally. The religious motive was uppermost in the minds of many men in the scheme of African colonization. Those who proposed colonization were in most cases not abolitionists.

On December 21, 1816, there was organized in Washington, D. C., "The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States", an organization thereafter known popularly as "The American Colonization Society". The conception of American colonization had arisen as early as the British Sierra Leone project, but the actual work of settlement by the British antedated the American experiment. Much correspondence was exchanged between leaders in this country and the British leaders, particularly H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester, President for many years of the African Colonization Society in Great Britain.

The first President of the American Colonization Society was Bushrod Washington, favorite nephew of George Washington. Because of Mr. Washington's absence by reason of illness, Henry Clay, Vice-President, presided at the first meeting. Henry Clay's position illustrates the quandary in which many slaveholders found themselves. He disliked the institution of slavery, but was forced to tolerate it. He had owned one slave in 1799, had twelve in 1818, fifty later, and when he died owned thirty-three. Clay saw in colonization a solution of the Negro problem. He argued that the deportation to Africa would eventually take away all Negroes from America. As slaves decreased in monetary value, more and more would be emancipated and migrate to West Africa. All of this was later proven fallacious. Some colonization advocates expected that up to forty thousand could be transported each year until all were sent away. But the actual total of emigrants probably never exceeded twenty thousand.

III. FIRST SETTLEMENTS.

In 1818 Samuel J. Mills and Ebenezer Burgess were sent by the American Colonization Society to search out the most favorable locality for settlement. The expedition was financed by money borrowed by William Meade (later Bishop of Virginia) and another, the same per-

sons later raising the money for repayment. They proceeded to Sierra Leone and, after prospecting, agreed that Sherbro Island near Freetown was a favorable locality. On the return journey with the death of this young man, Mills, there was lost a notable missionary and colonization figure. The town of Millsburg, Liberia, commemorates both men in its composite name.

In 1807 the slave trade was declared illegal in the United States by act of Congress. In 1819 Congress voted that any Africans being smuggled into this country when captured on the high seas should be returned to an agency to be established on the West African Coast. This enabled the Colonization Societies to work with the cooperation of the Government: the agency being established at Liberia.

In February, 1820, in the ship "Elizabeth", chartered by the Government for the purpose, the first group of eighty-eight Negro ex-slave colonists and three white agents sailed for Sherbro Island. They found the site in every way unfitted and almost the entire colony died, including the three white leaders. The courageous remnant, their hopes well-nigh gone, returned to Sierra Leone and there dispersed. One of the negro leaders was Elijah Johnson, who was later Governor of the colony, and whose son, Hilary, was elected President of the Republic of Liberia in 1884.

In 1821 a second expedition, after many vicissitudes, founded a settlement at Cape Mesurado, the site of the future Liberian capital, Monrovia. The town that sprung up was soon named Monrovia, at the suggestion of Governor Harper, of Maryland, in honor of James Monroe. The name Christopolis had earlier been suggested by one of the Negro leaders. Governor Harper was also responsible for the name Liberia. The colony faced the dangers of illness from African fever, native attack and internal dissension, and was frequently on the verge of dissolution. King Peter, a native slave trader, whose barracoon was nearby, led in warfare against the small colony (100 years later his great-grandson was Secretary of Public Instruction in the Cabinet of Liberia. At one time as many as fifteen vessels were to be seen under the guns of the settlement in illicit slave trading with King Peter. As late as 1825 contracts still existed for the delivery of 800 slaves to be furnished in the short space of four months within eight miles of Cape Mesurado, 400 of them destined for two American traders.

Many of the colonists were able Negro leaders, who showed rare capacity in these trying days; such as Elijah Johnson, Lott Carey, A. D. Williams and J. J. Roberts; eminent white leaders were Eli Ayres, Jehudi Ashmun, John B. Phinney, Thomas Buchanan.

An example of the story of an early Negro leader is that of Joseph Jenkin Roberts, born in Virginia in 1809. At the age of twenty, with his widowed mother and young brothers, he emigrated to Liberia and engaged in trade. By his ability, tact, mentality and graciousness of manner he rose to be Governor. Forced later to engage in diplomatic relations with Great Britain in dispute about revenue laws and receiving no help from the United States, Roberts led in the calling of a Constitutional Convention July 26, 1847, when a Declaration of Independence was issued and a Constitution adopted, drawn up by Prof. Greenleaf, of Harvard University, and the Massachusetts Colonization Society, and in October Joseph J. Roberts became the first President of the Republic of Liberia.

The group of immigrants was strengthened by later accessions of colonists from the United States and continually upheld by the loyal friends of the Colonization Societies in America.

A notable leader in the early days was Jehudi Ashmun, a presbyter of this Church. Ashmun was born in 1794 in Champlain, New York. He had studied at Middlebury College and the University of Vermont, and, after short service as Congregational minister, had been ordained in the Episcopal Church. He first went to Liberia with 114 settlers in 1820. Soon after arrival all of them were on the sick list and under constant attack from the natives. At one time only 27 were capable of bearing arms, and their only armament was a few small field pieces. Ashmun's wife died before his eyes. His part in the early days of trial by fire of the colony turned the tide. Ashmun later retired owing to misunderstandings, sailed to the United States in 1828 and died in New Haven August the tenth, fifteen days after arrival, his life spent in the service of colonization.

The Massachusetts Colonization Society was organized in 1841, and was interested particularly in higher education in Liberia. Mr. Amos Abbott Lawrence, the father of William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts, gave the first donation to the Society of \$100, increased by him during the following year to \$1,000. The Society was responsible for the founding of Liberia College at Monrovia. Many Churchmen have been active in the work of the Society. The New York Colonization Society was organized in 1829 to hold funds for the encouragement of education in Liberia. Four organizations are still in existence, the American Colonization Society, the New York Colonization Society, the Massachusetts Colonization Society, the legal name of which is "Trustees for Donations for Education in Liberia", and the Maryland Colonization Society, which is reported as still in existence though not active.

The colonization experiment in West Africa overcame difficulties due to the persistence of Negro and white leaders, and by 1847 Liberia was an independent nation.

IV. MARYLAND COLONIZATION.

There were many branch societies interested in African colonization, particularly in Maryland, Kentucky, Mississippi, New York and Massachusetts. Governor Harper, of Maryland, together with Francis Scott Key, was an active friend of colonization (as was William Meade and many other Southern Churchmen).

In 1831 a party was sent out by the Maryland Colonization Society, led by Dr. James Hall, who founded the "Colony of Maryland in Africa" at Cape Palmas, which colony continued independent existence under a separate government until 1858. It was then merged with the Commonwealth of Liberia as Maryland County. It is with this section of West Africa that we are primarily concerned in tracing the establishment of the Liberian Church: for what later became a missionary district of the Church was for 77 years to bear the name of "The Missionary District of Cape Palmas and Parts Adjacent". This name was first changed to "The Missionary District of Liberia" in 1913.

The Maryland Colonization Society was more prosperous, though it had a smaller population, than the other parts of Liberia, due to the fact that it enjoyed a subsidy from the State Treasury of Maryland of \$10,000 a year until 1858 and lesser amounts thereafter. It was due to the agent of the Maryland Colonization Society, Dr. James Hall, that this Church was first asked to take up work in Liberia.

* * * * *

This gives a brief chronicle of the historical background of the establishment of the Episcopal Church in Liberia. A summary of colonization efforts would show that in the period to be considered, which takes us through the episcopate of the first Bishop of Liberia, the Right Reverend John Payne, who first went to Liberia in 1837 and retired as Bishop in 1871, the American Colonization Society expended \$2,558,907 in addition to amounts expended by the Maryland Colonization Society and by the Government. About 12,000 ex-slaves had been sent over in 147 ships of the American Society. Twelve hundred and twenty-one were sent over by the Maryland Society, and 6,722 recaptured Africans had been returned to Liberia by the United States Government.

V. THE MISSION TO CAPE PALMAS.

1836—1851.

The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society had been formed at General Convention, 1820. The Society early thought of Africa as a field of labor, but a long period of sixteen years elapsed before a missionary sailed in 1836. During this intervening period Mr. and Mrs. Ephraim Bacon, who had been in Africa with the American Colonization Society, were appointed and sent out to parishes of the Church to solicit funds and supplies. They collected some \$1,800 and a varied assortment of clothes and useful articles. In addition, they formed parish branches to promote interest in the venture. They never reached the field because passage was refused them on the Colonization ship.

In October, 1827, Jacob Oson, of New Haven, Connecticut, was appointed, ordained, assigned passage on a Colonization vessel, and money raised for his support. Mr. Oson died before the date of sailing.

In 1828 a training school for colored candidates for work in Africa was started in Hartford. Several students offered for the work, but were refused because judged unqualified for service.

In 1833 the Foreign Committee of the Society was notified that a group of persons worshipping together in Monrovia had joined together under the name of St. James Church, and appealed for a worker to be sent to help them organize an Episcopal Church. One of their number, James M. Thompson, a Negro, offered his services to the Board, subsequently removing to Cape Palmas. In June, 1835, he and his wife were appointed teachers at that place. This geographical transfer of interest is of the utmost importance in the development of the Liberian Mission, for it meant that for the first stages of mission work Cape Palmas was to be the center. A strong influence in the choice of Cape Palmas was the friendship of Mr. Thompson with Dr. James Hall, who had become Resident Commissioner of the Maryland Colonization Society at Cape Palmas. It was nineteen years later when attention was again turned to Monrovia, and even then the bishops of the Church continued to reside in the Cape Palmas region. The Cape Palmas locality brought close contact with the southern tribes on the Liberian border, and on the Ivory Coast to the south, far removed from contact with the important events connected with the making of a new nation in and around Monrovia. Thus the Board's early choice of Cape Mesurado was reversed.

The first appointees for Liberia were the Rev. Thomas S. Savage, M. D., of Connecticut; the Rev. and Mrs. J. Payne and the Rev. Launcelot B. Minor, whom the Board appointed September, 1836.

These three men, the first to go to Liberia, were unusual personalities. Dr. Savage was the physician-scientist, J. Payne (as he always signed himself), was the administrator and linguist, and Minor was the flaming evangelist.

Savage sailed November the 1st, 1836, in order to reconnoiter and make preparations for the comfortable housing of the others. His journey took him along the coast of Liberia, where he saw something of Cape Mount and Monrovia, arriving at Cape Palmas on Christmas Day.

It is likely that the first celebration of the Holy Communion in Liberia was on Christmas Day, 1836,—though there is no record of the fact.

Savage, the first missionary of this Church in Liberia, was a notable figure. He was born June 7, 1804, in Upper Middletown, Connecticut, the son of a well-to-do merchant trading with the West Indies, the Orient and Africa. A strange coincidence was the wrecking of a brig owned by the father on the west coast of Africa. The lad inherited an adventurous spirit and a mind that thought in terms of the world. He attended Yale College, graduating in 1825, and went on to the study of medicine in the Yale Medical School, from which he received the degree of M. D. in 1833. His parents had given him the name Thomas Jefferson, but so firmly was he convinced of the truth of religion that he changed his name on entering the Virginia Seminary, saying that he would not bear the name of an infidel. After graduation he desired to see more of his own country, and made a long journey down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, studying American social life, including slavery.

On arriving at his destination, Dr. Savage felt satisfied with the location and warmly praised its selection for missionary operations. His health broke down within a year and he returned to America to convalesce. He again resumed work at Cape Palmas, taking with him his bride. Mrs. Savage died three months after arrival in 1839. In 1842 he married again, and the second Mrs. Savage died within a year. In 1847 his health was so broken that he was forced to retire from the field. Dr. Savage had been a keen student of natural history and of ethnology. He kept careful notebooks and in later years wrote extensively. He kept abreast of medical science as shown by the fact that, although quinine was just becoming known as a requisite medical aid in the treatment of malaria, he tried to keep supplies on hand.

On his return journey to America, he stopped at the Gaboon River on the Gold Coast with a Congregational minister, whom he had known at Cape Palmas. There he secured valuable data and specimens, which were later to be incorporated in scientific records, some of which

were published by the Boston Society of Natural History. In these he gave some of the earliest scientific conclusions about the psychological make-up of the ape.

After pastorates in Mississippi and Alabama, in 1868 he became Associate Secretary of the Foreign Board, and from 1869 until his death was rector of the Church of the Ascension, Rhinecliff, New York.

Important in the future development of the Mission is the letter of instructions given to this first missionary as to the policy of the Church in regard to the African Mission. The letter purports to give Dr. Savage "*The design of the Mission to Cape Palmas*". The Secretary of the Board in this historic document, after cautioning the Doctor not to have any undue anxiety as to health and life says:

"The great aim of your Mission is towards the native Africans. You are sent to establish a Mission which seeks nothing less than the Christianizing of Africa; and although it is but a small portion which may be attained by your Mission, yet we must never lose sight of the end.

"It will become you, then, to take every opportunity of inquiring into the condition of the native nations around you, in the interior, and on the leeward coast; to ascertain their character, the nature and course of their trade, the spirit they manifest towards the teachers of true religion, and, in short, whatever of authentic information, that may serve to inform the Church of the actual position of the native population.

"In making personal excursions into the country, you may become an exploring Missionary.

"The Committee wish you to inquire as to the propriety of hereafter establishing Missions on the leeward coasts, those marts for inland trade; and also of penetrating to the nation of the Ashantees, of Dahomey, and others, in that region of Western Africa.

"You are to go to a reasonable extent in gradually providing for a strong Mission station at Cape Palmas, though by degrees, only, it attain its full growth.

"You will pay attention to the language of the native nations, and their dialects, with a view to their gradual reduction to a written tongue.

"The Committee feel that in the exercise of your knowledge as a physician, you will not be slow to answer the calls of humanity. They prefer, however, that you should not act as recognized physician of the colony, lest such a responsibility should too much increase your cares, and detach you from the Mission. Bear in mind that you have now taken upon you to be a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his holy sacraments. You are to make this a primary object, and your medical services must be subordinate, or rather auxiliary to it.

"You are to seek distinctly to form a visible Church of Christ, gathering (as the Lord shall prosper you, and give power to his word) 'a congregation of faithful men', under the ordinances of that Church, which we believe to be formed upon the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone. In this work you will be steadily encouraged by the evident blessing which has attended the forms of our worship, among the most ignorant nations; the growing testimony to this will strengthen your faith.

"Should it be found, after a reasonable degree of perseverance, that your health cannot be continued in Africa, so as to permit your active usefulness as a Missionary of the Cross, you will exercise your discretion in relinquishing your cares, and returning to your native land."

It is clear from this document that the mind of the American Church was for the prosecution of an African Mission, having in mind the penetration of the Continent to reach the native tribes. The early leaders refer to this aim again and again in their reports, diaries and letters. This is the charter of the Liberian Mission—the evangelization of native Africa.

Dr. Savage found the Thompsons embarked upon an intelligent plan for bringing to the natives the Christian religion as interpreted by this Church. They also had instituted a modest beginning in Christian education. The Society at home sought to secure other members of the Negro race as additional workers. Appeals were also sent to the seminaries for white workers with but tardy response. Meantime the first missionaries had proceeded to Greece, the oldest of the foreign fields, in 1828, and to China and Turkey in 1835. Strong representations were made by the bishops in America that industrial education should be provided at an early date for the Africans, and the thought of a college was broached.

On July 4, 1837, the Rev. and Mrs. J. Payne, of Virginia, and the Rev. Launcelot B. Minor arrived. The event was of the utmost importance in the Mission since it introduced to Africa in the Rev. John Payne a man who was to demonstrate his ability to grow very speedily into a leader of large capacity. Payne was born January 9, 1815, in Westmoreland County, Virginia. He graduated from William and Mary College in 1833 and the Seminary in Virginia, 1836, in the same class with Savage and Minor. He was made deacon in Christ Church, Alexandria, Virginia, July 17, 1836. In the year's interim before sailing, Savage having gone ahead to make preparations, Payne and Minor traveled extensively among parishes in the interest of the African Mission. Before departing for Africa, Payne was married. For his

first period of service in Africa he was only a deacon. In 1841, for health reasons, Mr. and Mrs. Payne returned to the United States, and Payne was made priest at St. George's Church, Fredericksburg, Virginia, July 18, 1841.

The early center of missionary labor was at Mount Vaughan, a hill two miles to the east of the coast, named after the first Secretary of the home society. This was to be for some time the radiating center for the work in the Cape Palmas region. A school was started at Mount Vaughan for boys and girls, and two lay teachers from America were added to the staff. Within two years seven schools had been started, 200 children enrolled, the missionaries were steadily gaining in a knowledge of the Grebo language, and the small group of workers were encouraged to believe that the African Mission was a reality and was to be permanent.

As the policy of the workers was built upon the instructions as outlined in the letter to Dr. Savage, i. e., penetration into the interior, they approached the native tribes with the message of the Gospel. The Mission is to be judged by its success in native evangelization. The American ex-slaves were from the early years called "colonists". It was not for many years that "colonist" gave way to "Americo-Liberian". The approach of the Mission to the colonists was along distinctly different lines since they were English-speaking and most of them Christians, some communicants of the Episcopal Church. The colonists were looked upon as a body of helpers in the approach to the natives. There were separate settlements of colonists in and about Cape Palmas, maintaining their own identity in life and work, although having certain interest in common with the natives.

The region of Cape Palmas comprised the coast town of Harper (named for the Governor of Maryland) and included to the north the villages of Rocktown and Fishtown (later renamed Fairhaven), and to the southeast Graway and Cavalla. Beyond the Cavalla River, outside of the Grebo tribal boundaries, stations were soon established at Rockbookah, twenty miles from Cape Palmas, and Taboo, forty miles distant from the Cape. These two stations aimed to give an entrance to the Barbo tribe and the Palabo tribe, respectively. These localities were beyond the precincts of Liberia proper and their occupation is a further indication that it was in the mind of the Church leaders to penetrate into the Continent of Africa.

The first fifteen years (1836-1851) were trial years of the Mission. Before the Church in Liberia could be said to be permanently established there was a period of experiment and uncertainty. Until the year 1851, when a bishop was consecrated, there were many times when it was open to question as to whether the Mission would persist.

It was not certain that the white man could live in West Africa, and there could be no Church without some white American leadership. During the period from the start of the Mission in 1836 to the retirement of Bishop Payne in 1868, 24 of the 77 workers who came from the United States died. In the first years the workers approached the field as if facing probable death. When Mr. Payne arrived seven months after the arrival of Dr. Savage, the first missionary on the ground (July 4, 1837), he expressed great surprise to find Dr. Savage alive. The native threat was constant. The quarters of the missionaries were inadequate. There were many factors making for uncertainty and a lack of confidence in the workers themselves.

The Mission precedes the Church. The Church was not established until it was deemed worthy of having Episcopal oversight. In this initial decade and a half, twenty-four workers, (including wives of clergy and laymen), were sent from America, three of these being colored; eight clergy, four laymen and six women teachers. Of these, ten died in the field. Illness was never absent—death was a frequent visitor. They knew little of the precautions later advised by experts in tropical medicine, yet no complaint came from them. The record tells little or nothing of what they lacked in home comforts, proper clothing suited to continual heat in the tropics, including sun helmets, good food, pure water supply, sanitation, transportation facilities, medical supplies. There is a reference to the limited quantity of quinine, but no evidence that this was used as a preventative, as is now universally the case with white people in this fever-infested Coast. There was no provision for medical examination before sailing. One or two persons added to the staff were known to be sufferers from tuberculosis. In addition to discomfort and danger in their daily life, petty tribal warfare threatened to break up the Mission. The work of this small group in a remote section of this distant land of mystery and danger went on and the workers were undaunted, because infused with devotion to the God who was filling them with a vision of His Universal Kingdom.

Their Gospel rose out of the evangelical school of thought, out of fervid faith and absolute obedience to the Son of God about whom they had no doubt; their message centered on the Atoning Death of Christ as a pledge of future life. Their Gospel was, however, not a Gospel of postponement, but related to the living present, the every need of African tribes as well as the rest of God's world.

They promoted education along with the preaching of the Gospel as a vehicle for training the native to take an eventual place of leadership. The native language was the unquestioned medium for education as well as for worship.

A complete recital of the names of all the men and women should,

in justice, be given, but cannot in the limited scope of this sketch. The staff of workers was constantly being revised by additions and changes due to absence in the homeland because of physical disability. Dr. Savage, within a year, was invalided home for a short time; the Paynes were compelled to return to America within four years, and at subsequent times; hope and despair were intermingled, but heroism never dimmed. It is the chronicle of the sacrifice of willing apostolic pioneers.

Certain examples of men and women tell a story that others repeated. Martha D. Coggeshell sailed from America when the Paynes were returning to Liberia, January 28, 1842; on the 4th of May next she was buried at Cavalla.

One whose name is not to be forgotten is Launcelot Byrd Minor. This young man was the son of General and Mrs. John Minor, of Hazel Hill, near Fredericksburg, Virginia. As a boy his interest had been quickened in the adventure of sending ex-slaves back to Africa through the efforts of the American Colonization Society, and he had given of his savings to its work. Graduating from Kenyon College, he entered the Virginia Seminary, and while there attended the Virginia Convention of 1834, at which the Rev. Dr. Milnor, Secretary of the Foreign Committee, called for students to offer for service in West Africa.

A Prayer Circle was formed in the Virginia Seminary that included as members Boone (later to be Bishop in China), Savage, Payne and Minor. Minor had been appointed with Payne and Savage. He arrived in Liberia July 4, 1837, and after a short period in and about Cape Palmas was charged with opening a station at Taboo, forty miles outside the confines of Liberia within the bush country of the Ivory Coast. Impetuous in nature, and not over-robust in physique, he spent himself within a few years. His service among the native people resulted in spreading the influence of his Master, but brought him to a speedy end from over-exertion, lack of comfort in his daily life and the strain of duties. "Let the Mission go forward more than it ever has done" were his last words.

Launcelot Minor was the first man among the clergy to be a victim of the West African climate. He is buried at Cavalla.

The first native to be later ordained, Mu Su, came from Taboo and bore the name of the Rev. John Mu Su Minor.

The circle of influence of the Mission widened. After six years, six stations were reported within a population of 20,000. Another decade and the circle spread inland as far as fifty miles, comprising an incalculable number of tribal people, the missionaries said to be 200,000. Still the compulsion was upon the leaders to penetrate inland and to evangelize the tribes. The colonists clung closely to the Cape, and

were included in the plan of the Mission, but as a part of the Mission forces, not a part of the field to be evangelized. The colonists were English speaking Christians, and their Christianity was to be preserved and deepened, but the aim and goal of this Mission was among the tribes who had not named the name of the Son of God.

The leader who emerged as the man of the hour was the Reverend John Payne, who had within him potentialities of a future episcopal leader: undaunted missionary spirit, a mentality able though not brilliant, and a strong physical frame that resisted where others succumbed. For thirty-one years he was able to live in the land, carrying on indefatigably as the acknowledged head of this varied work and continually growing in the capacity for supervision. He was a linguist of ability, daily devoting himself to study and translation, and producing during his African service the offices of Morning and Evening Prayer and Holy Communion in the Grebo language and parts also of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. The American Bible Society assisted in publishing the Gospel according to St. Mark. "The Cavalla Messenger" was under his leadership, printed and published in Grebo and English as a help to natives and colonists.

In later years the use of the vernacular was deprecated when the Liberian Legislature decreed that the use of English was mandatory, and the translations of these early years mysteriously have disappeared. Mr. Payne preached in the native tongue in chains of villages, gave instruction to pupils in schools, cared for administrative details, and was the recognized leader first among equals. Cavalla was his residence for the rest of his life, and Cavalla was the radiating center of the Cape Palmas Mission. A laborious part of the tasks of this leader was the correspondence and the reports, submitted in careful longhand with scrupulous detail concerning financial and other statistical data, giving information as to stations, outlining future plans, giving the names of native helpers and converts.

The Spirit of Missions and the reports of the Board are stored with verbatim reports, letters, diaries, maps, financial accounts. It was an age when busy apostles rendered painstaking longhand account of their stewardship. There were no secretaries or typewriters or table or carbon paper or treasurers in those days.

One cause of breakdown may have been that missionaries, who were always under par physically, had the additional burdensome chore of writing extended letters and reports by midnight oil to the Home Board.

The Mission quickly grew to be a strong spiritual force that commanded respect in Liberia as well as in the United States. It survived the threat of obliteration by native tribes more than once. The colonists

came to love the Church and gave it their full allegiance. In 1843 a fanatical outburst at Cavalla, aimed at Mr. Payne because of a minor disagreement, threatened to put an end to the Mission. The workers were forced to flee and the Mission closed. Several ships of the United States Navy were anchored near, under the command of Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, the same Commodore who was, in 1853-54, to figure so dramatically in Japan. Commodore Perry took the harassed workers aboard the ship "Decatur" and saved their lives. The natives soon relented and made restitution and the work at Cavalla was happily reopened.

On Easter, 1845, the first five converts were baptized at Rockbookah by the Rev. Mr. Hening, who, with his wife, had joined the staff in 1844, and who added much by his labors until forced to retire in 1852 because of blindness. Increasing invalidism caused the withdrawal of workers to such an extent that at one time Mr. Payne was the only missionary left in the field, but he wrote:

"That one laborer never felt greater cause for gratitude and encouragement—never perceived a louder call upon the faith and zeal of the Church, than is furnished in the actual state and prospects of the mission which he is permitted to exhibit."

In 1848 two notable Virginia graduates were added to the staff, the Rev. C. Colden Hoffman and the Rev. Jacob Rambo. Mr. Hoffman had come from a circle of affluence and culture in New York. An adequate biographical consideration of him (as of many another of the Liberian pioneers) would mean the writing of a book. An early tribute exists published in 1868—"A Memoir of the Rev. C. Colden Hoffman" by the Rev. George Townshend Fox, M. A. Cadwallader Colden Hoffman was born in New York City, December 15, 1818, of a family descended from old Dutch settlers on Manhattan. The boy was brought up in the Church of the Ascension, then on Canal Street, New York City, of which the Rev. Manton Eastburn, later Bishop of Massachusetts, was rector. This parish then formed a center and rallying point of the growing evangelical and missionary interest of that day. Schooled by private tutors and with business experience, the young man was led to offer himself for the Christian ministry. As with all early clergy who went to West Africa, he took his training at the Virginia Seminary, the President of which was then the Rev. Dr. Sparrow. For seventeen years he gave himself to the cause of the African Mission at Cape Palmas, laboring side by side as the close friend and strong helper of Payne.

In 1849 the first church edifice was erected in Liberia, St. Mark's

Church, Cape Palmas, the parish center for the colonists of that locality. The period of the Mission at Cape Palmas comes to an end with the consecration of a bishop. The Mission had endured precarious days, but had succeeded because of the fidelity and courage of its workers and the loyal backing of the Church at home. It is a tribute to this fidelity that in fourteen years the Mission was ready to be a Missionary District. The Congregationalists who had antedated our Mission moved to another section and subsequently retired from Liberia. The Baptists did not long continue at the Cape. Only the Methodists besides the Episcopal Church, remained as a permanent mission.

The Roman Catholics had been unable to maintain work instituted in 1842. At that time one priest arrived to initiate work. In 1843 seven priests arrived at Cape Palmas, but five of them died within a short time. Immediately the other two returned to the United States. In the course of two years more their work lapsed and was not resumed until 1884 in Monrovia.

The perseverance of the Mission of the Episcopal Church is a tribute not so much to individuals as to a certain inner spiritual vitality in the Church body that made it possible to provide workers and money to insure a growing mission that was soon to pass out of the mission status into that of the organized church.

There probably never was an equal outpouring of seminarians from one institution as went forth from the Seminary in Virginia to institute and carry on the Church's Mission in Africa. Those who went during this period of early beginnings in Liberia from 1836 to 1871 were:

Class.

- 1836 Launcelot B. Minor.
- 1836 John Payne, D. D.
- 1836 Thomas S. Savage, M. D., D. D.
- 1840 Joshua Smith.
- 1842 Samuel Hazelhurst.
- 1844 Edmund W. Hening.
- 1845 Erasmus J. P. Messenger.
- 1845 Owen P. Thackara.
- 1848 C. Colden Hoffman.
- 1848 Jacob Rambo.
- 1852 Hugh Roy Scott.
- 1853 Robert Smith.
- 1853 William Wright.
- 1855 H. H. Holcomb.

The Rev. A. V. G. Allen says :

"The history of Missions knows of no greater sacrifice or loftier heroism than is recalled to the Virginia Seminary by its martyrs for Christianity. Especially the Mission to the West Coast of Africa meant an almost certain death or else permanent injury to the health of all who ventured in its pestilential climate. But as devoted men fell, others rose up to follow."

VI. THE CHURCH IS ESTABLISHED.

1851—1871.

As early as 1841 the House of Bishops had nominated Dr. Vaughan, the Foreign Secretary, to be Bishop "to exercise episcopal functions in Maryland County of Liberia and in such other places outside the territory of the United States as the House of Bishops may designate". The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies refused to concur. Again in 1842 there was a call for a bishop in Africa. In 1844 the Rev. Alexander Glennie, of South Carolina, was elected bishop but declined.

In 1850 John Payne, after fourteen years' service, was elected "Bishop of the Missionary District of Cape Palmas and parts adjacent", and thus after years of waiting and two disappointments the African Mission had an episcopal head. The Bishop was consecrated on July 11, 1851, in St. Paul's Church, Alexandria, Virginia, and presided over his African district for eighteen years.

The Liberia to which Bishop Payne returned after his consecration was a new-born nation, to which over 6,000 immigrants had gone from this country. The Maryland Colony was still independent. In it there were 800 colonists, who had been sent out by the Maryland Colonization Society. The independence of the Republic had been declared in 1847. In 1852 a significant development took place in the extension of the work to Monrovia and intervening parts of the coast between Monrovia and Cape Palmas.

The Church workers at Cape Palmas were infused with new confidence upon the consecration of the Bishop. They looked forward eagerly to his arrival, but waited a year for that event. The Bishop spent this period in America renewing his physical health and soliciting the aid of the home Church.

On Christmas Day, 1852, in the presence of a large congregation, the Bishop held the first Confirmation in the new colonial church, St. Mark's, at Cape Palmas. Twenty-five persons were confirmed.

In 1853 General Convention voted that "Cape Palmas and parts adjacent" should be understood to include "the whole territory on the

coast of West Africa not at present occupied by any Colonial Bishop of the Church of England”.

A new era was opening for Africa and for Liberia, an omen of which was the institution of the first steamship service from Southampton in 1853, Cape Palmas being a port of call. The world was moving into the era of steam navigation. Much remained to be done, but the momentum of progress had been started.

Mr. Hoffman wrote a letter to the *Spirit of Missions* July 8, 1853, in which he said:

“The long-expected day has arrived in which we are to welcome the Bishop; we heard of his arrival in the ‘Ralph Cross’, while at breakfast this morning: an occasion of joy and gratitude. He reached the station at six in the afternoon. His coming was announced by the noise of children and natives following him. Our family met him in the avenue as he rode up on his faithful donkey, which had been sent for him. We rejoiced that God had kept, blessed and restored him to his work; that he had also brought out other laborers with him.”

The Bishop was especially concerned as to how he could secure readers for the growing work. He had already intimated that he planned to establish stations at Monrovia and other points along the coast. He continues to think of the Church’s obligation to the tribal peoples. In regard to the future he says:

“It is not too much to say, that at least half of those who have fallen victims to the climate might have been saved, had they enjoyed the benefits of the experience now possessed.

“A native language has been reduced to writing; services are held in it. Spelling-books, reading-books, portions of the Liturgy, and of the Scriptures, have been translated, and many children and youths taught to read them.

“A standing influence, as Christian teachers, has been gained by the missionaries for scores of miles around them, and amongst fifty thousand natives. This was no easy task. For years the heathen naturally persisted in classing them with foreigners in general, whose object was only gain. The endless annoyances, exactions, vexations and persecutions, which this view entailed upon the missionaries, they only can know who have experienced them.

“The direct spiritual effects of missionary labor upon the heathen are manifest. The popular faith in idolatry is shaken. I have myself burned up a wheel-barrow load of idols, or *gree-grees*, at one time. Many use *gree-grees* only from custom and a fear of exciting observation and remark,

not from faith in their efficacy. Beside some who have died in the faith, and others who have apostatized, we have now in regular standing above one hundred communicants, more than half of whom are natives.

"Fifteen Christian families, the members of which were nearly all educated in the schools, are living together in a Christian village, on our mission premises, at Cavalla. Nine young men and women, educated in the mission schools, are employed as catechists, teachers, and assistants. Two native youths are in this country pursuing their studies, preparatory to the ministry. One colonist is a candidate for orders.

"These natives, with few exceptions, can only make assistants. They will require some superintending agency. And since, as I have observed, white men cannot bear the interior of Africa, this circumstance, and the comparative advance in Christian civilization attained by the colonists from this country, point to them as the materials from which to raise up this superintending agency.

"Hence the preeminent importance to be attached to all schemes of education in Liberia."

The cornerstone of Trinity Church, Monrovia, was laid in 1854, and at the same time work was started at Bassa Cove, sixty miles south of Monrovia, and at Sinoe, half-way further south toward Cape Palmas. In the years which followed, Bishop Payne with skill and wisdom guided the larger enterprises of the Church. Seldom in the history of the world missionary venture has there been more heroism and tragedy patiently endured than in this Liberian Mission during the eighteen years of Bishop Payne's episcopate as well as in the preceding years.

From 1851 to 1871 sixty-six additional workers were enrolled, of whom sixteen were colored. Thirteen white clergy went from America and nine colored clergy. The strong reinforcements which were received from the Negroes meant much in the development of the Church. Among those to go from America were the Reverend Eli W. Stokes and the Reverend Thomas A. Pinckney, and a notable one was the Rev. Alexander Crummell, whose father was a native of the Gold Coast. Bishop Payne continued to hope for the development of native leadership.

The first ordinations were in 1854, when Ku Sia and Mu Su, who took the names Clement F. Jones and John Mu Su Minor, were ordained at Easter, April 16, the first products of the native Church schools. The first ordination of a colonist was that of Garretson W. Gibson, who was made a deacon January 15, 1854.

With the extension of the jurisdiction of the Bishop's district

the Mission of the Church came to be thought of as comprising the whole of Liberia. It was not, however, until the episcopate of Bishop Penick that the work expanded as far as Cape Mount.

The beginning of the Church in Liberia is analagous to the digging of the foundation and the placing of a cornerstone in the process of erecting a building. This fundamental work has been told in the narrative of the Cape Palmas Mission up to the coming of a Bishop of the Church. The remainder of the life and work of Bishop Payne was concerned with extensive development along lines laid down in the early years.

In 1855 the first Convocation of the Missionary District of Cape Palmas and Parts Adjacent was held at Harper, Cape Palmas, which meant a consolidation of the forces and an encouragement in unifying the staff of workers.

In this same year occurred the early death of the Rev. Robert Smith, a young man who exemplified in his life the finest contribution that America was continuing to give to the African adventure. Mr. Smith was born in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1825, graduated from Yale in 1850 and the Virginia Seminary in 1853, arrived at Cavalla January 12, 1855, and died May 24 of the same year.

In 1857 Bishop Payne was made the recipient of a bequest of \$25,000 from Mrs. Jane Bohlen, and took steps to open a new station at the Falls of Cavalla, seventy miles inland. The name of the site chosen was Natielu, the capital of the Webo tribe of over thirty thousand natives. In 1858 a much needed hospital, St. Mark's, was begun at Cape Palmas. The years of the American Civil War were trying for the Mission, yet the stream of laborers never ceased. The success of the Mission was such that self-support from the natives and colonists seemed more of a possibility to the Bishop, who wrote in 1862:

"We endeavor always to impress upon our native converts that the lesson God means to teach them, by the troubles in America, is to exert themselves for their own support and that of the Gospel in their midst. And they feel and acknowledge the situation."

In December, 1857, Mrs. Payne died after twenty years of life in the service of the Mission.

At this stage in the development of the Church, the economic condition of the colonists was at its peak, and they gave generously according to their ability. A chapel was erected at Caldwell, near Monrovia, paid for entirely by the colonists. The organization of the Convocation was strengthened by designating four missionary districts in Liberia: (1) The Cape Palmas District; (2) the Bassa District;

(3) the Sinoe District; and, (4) the Montserrado District, formerly Mesurado).

In 1865 the Mission sustained a great loss in the death of the Rev. C. Colden Hoffman after sixteen years of labor in the Cape Palmas region. Bishop Payne memorialized Mr. Hoffman as follows:

"This event will sadden the hearts of thousands, and fall like a thunderclap on the Church, as it did on the Mission and the community he so much honored and in which he was so much beloved. But none like those associated with him in his labor of love could so highly appreciate him or feel so deeply his loss. Our beloved Barnabas—the wise, ready counsellor, the constant loving friend, the perfectly consecrated Christian minister, the zealous ever-active, able, single-minded missionary, the dear fellow laborer in the Gospel, delighting, above all things, to sound it out according to grace given him, to every creature; we as a Mission mourn a loss never before experienced."

The Mission had, however, been greatly strengthened by the accession to its ranks of John G. Auer, who had come in 1862 from the Accra Mission of the German Lutheran Church in the Gold Coast Colony. He was ordained priest on Easter Day, 1862, and thereafter placed in charge of the Bohlen Station. To him was given the development of Hoffman Institute at Cavalla bearing the name of the brave missionary who had fallen in the work. Mr. Auer was also in charge of five other stations. No one brought finer gifts of mind to the work than this German scholar, who was especially eminent as a linguist and who had made invaluable contributions as a translator in the Grebo language.

Nine parish churches had been established by this time and supplied with pastors, and their influence on the life of the growing nation was immeasurable. About these churches there sprang up from small beginnings schools, day and Sunday, one high school for boys at Mount Vaughan as well as the Hoffman Institute, and an orphan asylum established at Cape Palmas to take care of destitute children in the colonies.

By the year 1868 it was clear to all the staff of workers that the first bishop of Cape Palmas and Parts Adjacent could no longer remain at his post. Bishop Payne was conscious of his declining health. On July 9, 1868, he wrote:

"God has permitted me to see my fifty-third birthday. His Name be praised now and ever for all the good wrought in me, or in any way through me."

This was the thirty-first year of his service in the African Mission. His residence was still at Cavalla, the place which had been African bush when first taken up as his residence. At this time (1868) the place had been transformed and made an idyllic picture. There was a substantial Church and two large schoolhouses with nearly 180 students, the Mission House and the Bishop's residence, all surrounded by palm trees and beds of flowers.

The Bishop was hopeful for the future of the Mission in spite of the continued changes in staff due to physical breakdown, and increasing hostilities on the part of the natives. In the month of January, 1868, there was another native outbreak, Cavalla was attacked and several houses were burned. Had they succeeded, the whole Mission would have burned to the ground. Providentially, the direction of the wind saved the Church and the Mission buildings. This was perhaps the greatest danger that had threatened Cavalla.

An idea of the extent to which the work in Liberia was supported by the home Church may be gained from the statement that in 1874, the year of the Bishop's death, expenditures for missionary work in Liberia were \$37,331.10, which exceeds by \$2,790 the appropriation of the National Council for Liberia in 1936.

The heavy burdens of travel and of anxiety for the welfare of the Mission had undermined the Bishop's strong physical constitution.

On Sunday, March 15, 1868, at Trinity Church, Monrovia, the Bishop advanced the Rev. Samuel D. Ferguson to the priesthood, an important event since Mr. Ferguson was later to become a bishop and play a leading part in the history of the Liberian Mission.

The Rev. Mr. Auer, who was to succeed Bishop Payne in 1873, was happily at work with the Bishop at Cavalla. Mr. Auer wrote at this time:

"The Bishop has been here thirty-one years; he is weak and will not be able to stay much longer."

In his own words the Bishop said:

"It is failure of strength to work longer in Africa, in which I read God's will that I cease from it."

Due to the strong conviction that he was no longer to continue in the field, the Bishop wrote to the Foreign Committee that he desired to try a residence of eighteen months in the United States, to determine whether he would be able to resume his labors in Africa. He was only fifty-three years of age, and hoped that he would be able to give more years to the work to which he had been called.

The withdrawal of Bishop Payne from Liberia left Mr. Auer the only white missionary clergyman in the field, and put upon his shoulders heavy responsibilities.

Bishop Payne retired from the field in 1869, after thirty-one years of labor in establishing the Church in Africa, which, together with his years of retirement, made a total service of thirty-three years. After his residence in the United States, finding that his health was not sufficiently restored to warrant a return to Africa, he tendered his resignation at the meeting of the General Convention held in the City of Baltimore, Maryland, in October, 1871. In giving his report, the Bishop said:

"To the praise of His Grace, God has prospered the work of my hands as well as prolonged my days. At my own station (Cavalla) I have baptized 352 persons, of whom 187 were adults. In the Mission I have confirmed 643 persons. I have lived to ordain Deacons—two foreign, eight Liberians, four natives—in all fourteen; of Presbyters, three foreign, seven Liberians, one native—in all eleven; or, altogether, twenty-five ordinations have been held. And at twenty-two places along 250 miles of what was, fifty years ago, a most barbarous, heathen coast, has the Church been planted, and radiating points for the light of the Gospel established."

In accepting the resignation, the Board of Missions passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, This Board had learned that the Right Rev. John Payne, D. D., Missionary Bishop to Cape Palmas and Parts Adjacent, after labors upon the coast of Africa, remarkable for severity and for a duration of thirty-three years, has resigned his jurisdiction.

"Resolved, That the Board hereby records the high value which it puts upon his long-continued and self-sacrificing labors in behalf of a people who are recognized to have peculiar claims upon us, and upon the example of primitive missionary spirit which his life has held up before the Church.

"Resolved, That this Board tender to the Right Rev. Bishop Payne in his retirement, their affectionate sympathy, and their prayers to God that He will watch over him in body and in soul.

"Resolved, That this Board refer it to the Foreign Committee to make such provision for the maintenance of this venerated servant of the Church as circumstances require."

The resolutions were adopted unanimously, the vote being taken standing.

The Reverend Mr. Auer was elected Bishop in 1872 by the House

of Bishops assembled in New York, October 31, 1872. The Bishop-elect of Liberia arrived in this country from Hamburg, where he had supposedly retired because of ill health. On the 17th of April, 1873, he was consecrated in St. John's Church, Georgetown, D. C. After returning to Liberia, the 29th of December, the Bishop plunged into his work with new interest—but greatly weakened in body he was unable to bear up under the burdens of his high office and died on February 16, 1874.

So urgent at this time was the need for episcopal supervision that the Foreign Committee requested Bishop Payne, then in retirement, to make a visit to Liberia for a brief time, but his health was in so precarious a condition that it was impossible for him to consider the request favorably. On October 23, 1874, at Oak Grove, Westmoreland County, Virginia, Bishop Payne died. He is buried on the slope of the hill of the Seminary from which he was graduated. In later years Bishop Penick brought from Liberia an altar rail made of African rosewood, which is in the Virginia Seminary. Many other graduates kneeling at that altar have gone forth to serve in the land that he loved and where he so effectively served.

With the death of Bishop Payne and Bishop Auer, and the weakening of the Mission forces by continued sickness and withdrawals, the work was set back, and the workers dismayed, but others were to rise up and carry on the work. To give a record of this succeeding period would carry us beyond the subject of the beginnings of the Church in Liberia.

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JOHN WESLEY

A REVIEW.

By E. Clowes Chorley

1. *Son to Susanna. The Private Life of John Wesley.* By G. Elsie Harrison. Cokesbury Press, Nashville. With an Introduction by Umphrey Lee. Pp. 377.
2. *John Wesley and Modern Religion.* By Umphrey Lee, Ph. D., D. D. The Cokesbury Press, Nashville. Pp. 354.
3. *John Wesley In the Evolution of Protestantism.* By Maximin Piette, OFM. Translated by J. B. Howard. With Forewords by Bishop F. C. Kelly and Dr. H. B. Workman. Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. xlviii-569.

This year of our Lord, Nineteen hundred and thirty-eight marks the two hundredth anniversary of that spiritual crisis in the life of John Wesley commonly called his "Conversion".

It was the twenty-fourth day of May. At five o'clock in the morning he opened his New Testament and read of "the exceeding great and precious promises", and just before going out, that other word, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God".

In the afternoon he attended the service in St. Paul's Cathedral and was profoundly moved by the singing of the anthem, the words being, "Out of the Deep have I called unto Thee, O Lord". Then comes the memorable entry in his *Journal*:

"In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society¹ in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's preface to the epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death; and I then testified openly to all there, what I now first felt in my heart."

He walked back to see his brother, Charles, with the words, "I believe", upon his lips, and the two joined in singing

"O how shall I the goodness tell,
Father, which Thou to me hast showed?
That I, a child of wrath and hell,
I should be called a child of God,
Should know, should feel my sins forgiven,
Blest with this antepast of heaven."

This experience has been variously interpreted. Father Piette thinks it played "a very modest role in the life of the founder of Methodism and of his companions".² On the other hand, Tyerman,³ whose three volume *Life of Wesley*, published in 1872, was long regarded as the final word, thinks its importance cannot be exaggerated. Dr. Lee writes:

"Traditionally, Methodists and non-Methodists alike have seen in this experience the evangelical conversion of Wesley. But of late years more and more scholars have classified this as a mystical rather than an evangelical conversion."⁴

However it be interpreted one can agree with Mrs. Harrison:

"Whatever men may make of conversion, however psychologists may explain the varieties of religious experience, something happened to John Wesley that night to transform him into a leader of men."⁵

The event has just been joyfully celebrated in Methodist circles throughout the world. But the most significant commemoration is the publication of the three books which form the basis for this Article.

The gifted author of *Son to Susanna* is an English woman, born and bred in Methodism and whose father, Rev. John S. Simon, was a well known authority on Wesley. The book is brilliantly written and abounds in literary charm. It is a frank and unconventional study of "the Private Life of John Wesley", something in the nature of a psychological analysis of a man, who, in his private life, was very human, and, sometimes, very foolish. To the old fashioned Methodist it will be a shock, yet she betrays a large understanding of Wesley's character and work. Speaking of the development of Methodism she writes: "It was no anemic 'Sweet Saviour' caricature of religion that turned the world upside down. It was rather something as fierce and elemental

¹*An Anglican Society.*

²*Piette, p. 306.*

³*Tyerman, Life and Times of Rev. John Wesley, Vol. 1, 179 f.*

⁴*Lee, pp. 89-90.*

⁵*Son to Susanna, pp. 202-3.*

as a flash of lightning.”⁶ William Grimshaw, the vicar of the Brontë’s, called it “the fire of God in the soul”. Wesley knew it as “a force of consuming fire”, and Mrs. Harrison adds:

“The significance of John Wesley lies just there. He made that tremendous experience possible for all men. Over his own battered heart he opened up a way into the Eternal Mystery without fear of election or favor of priest. In that stupenduous flash-point of Refining Fire the veriest clodhopper at the plough-tail was made heir to the wisdom of all the ages.”⁷

Dr. Umphrey Lee, who is Dean of the School of Religion in Vanderbilt University, has made an outstanding contribution to the understanding of Wesley and his work in this new book, entitled *John Wesley and Modern Religion*. He is on familiar ground, for he had previously written two volumes: *The Lord’s Horseman* and *The Historical Backgrounds of Methodism*, both of which merited and received high commendation from such publications as the *Yale Review* and the *Revue d’Histoire Ecclesiastique*.

His latest addition to Wesley literature is based upon a long study of the best available sources, including the fourteen volumes of Wesley’s works; the famous *Journal* and the lesser known, but extremely important *Diary*, part of which was written in shorthand, and which Wesley strictly guarded during his lifetime. In the appendix there are eighteen pages of closely printed authorities. The book must be judged in the light of the author’s Preface, where he writes:

“The following study of Wesley’s religion and theology is offered both as a contribution to the history of modern Christianity and as an evaluation of Wesley’s place in present-day religion. It is the author’s conviction that the traditional conception of Wesley’s experience and thought is in many ways misleading, and that a truer picture may now be presented by use of the richer materials available to the student. These materials concern not only Wesley, but also the life and thought of his century instead of in the light of nineteenth century Methodism or of nineteenth century ideas of the eighteenth century.”⁸

It is an ambitious aim, successfully accomplished. One of its values is the setting of Wesley in his historical background. After discussing the varying interpretations of the man there is a vivid description of “Religion in England in the Eighteenth Century”. Dr. Lee gently breaks a lance with the judgment of John Richard Green, who said of that period “that religion was never at so low an ebb”,

⁶*Son to Susanna*, p. 364.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 366.

⁸*Preface*, vii.

and points out that it was the England of men like William Law, Isaac Watts, Bishop Berkley, Philip Doddridge and Bishop Butler, and of such books as Nelson's *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*; Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*, and Law's *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*. From this Dr. Lee passes to "Wesley's Training at Epworth and Oxford". Subsequent chapters of great importance deal with Wesley's religious experience; his theology, including the doctrine of Salvation and Christian Perfection; Discipline, and Wesley's Doctrine of the Church. The last chapter is concerned with "John Wesley and Modern Religion". Again and again he questions popular conceptions of Wesley's teaching, notably concerning Authority and the Church. He writes concerning Authority:

"If the nineteenth century—and some modern commentators—have erred in calling Wesley as a witness to the sole authority of Christian experience, so do they err who make Wesley a fundamentalist who would have nothing but the naked words of Scripture. He knew the Christian tradition and respected it; the early Fathers are the best interpreters of the Scriptures; but man's reason and experience must also be called in."⁹

So with the Church:

"While he denied divine authority to any type of organization, he never conceived of Christianity without a Church. To him the ministry is a ministry sent of God but set apart by the Church, and the sacraments are means of grace. The true Church is always the invisible company of God's children, but the visible Church is necessary for a Christian's life here. There must be a corporate life and worship within the 'catholic seminary of divine love'."¹⁰

Dr. Lee has given us a study of John Wesley based on scholarly research, a large knowledge of the times and discriminating judgment.

One turns with peculiar interest to Father Piette's work, which is truly monumental. That a study of John Wesley should come from the pen of a Belgian Franciscan friar is significant; the more so as it has the commendation of a Roman bishop and a Methodist minister, Dr. H. B. Workman, who is widely recognized as an eminent authority on Church History, the author of *Methodism* (1912) and one of the editors of *A New History of Methodism* in three volumes (1919).

Father Piette began his Wesley studies in 1913, but was interrupted by his heroic service as a chaplain in the War, being twice imprisoned in Germany. After the War he spent five years in the English libraries, and in 1925 published *John Wesley: Sa Reaction dans*

⁹Lee, p. 19.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 37.

l'Evolution du Protestantisme, which met with immediate recognition and was crowned by the French Academy. In 1927 he came to the United States, where he remained for two years, and again in 1936 and 1937, taking his Master's degree at Harvard. During those years he visited all our great libraries in search of Wesley data; photostated literally thousands of manuscripts and discovered Wesley material, the existence of which was unknown to Methodist scholars. He is now engaged in an intensive study of American Methodism. The extent and thoroughness of his research is attested by the fact that his Bibliography contain over five hundred items, together with eighty-six closely printed pages of notes. The one defect is the lack of an index. The translation by the Rev. J. B. Howard, of California, is beyond praise.

This Franciscan friar not only brings a wealth of learning to his studies, but also a sympathetic understanding of Wesley and the Methodist Movement. There is no suggestion of ecclesiastical bias; he has approached the work with balanced judgment and in the true spirit of the scientific historian whose one aim is to discover and set forth the truth. How far he has succeeded may be judged by the two "Forewords"—the one by the Roman Bishop of Oklahoma, who commends the writer's charity, and Dr. Workman, whose judgment as a Methodist is peculiarly significant. Dr. Workman writes:

"There is no work on Wesley that I have read which seems to me to combine in so eminent a degree insight and scholarship together with a certain critical faculty—this last most advisable especially for those readers who are members of the Methodist Church. Add to this a great sanity in his judgments."

The volume is divided into three Books:

1. The Evolution of Protestantism Before the 18th Century.
2. Protestantism in the 18th Century in Europe and England.
3. John Wesley's Movement.

Nearly two hundred pages are devoted to Protestantism as a whole, and the part it played in English life in that century. Particularly valuable are the sketches of such Dissenting bodies as the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Quakers and the Calvinist movement in England to which John Wesley was unalterably opposed.

Book three outlines the beginnings of Methodism; Wesley's life at Epworth and Oxford; the subsequent growth of the Movement and the Development of Methodism after the death of Wesley; likewise a discussion of its characteristic doctrines. Those doctrines were declared by the Conference of 1807 to be: "the Total Depravity of

Human Nature; the Divinity and Atonement of Christ; the Influence and Witness of the Holy Spirit, and Christian Holiness."¹¹ Needless to say, as Father Piette points out, that in the course of the years the statement of some of these doctrines has been materially modified.

The outward events of John Wesley's life may be briefly outlined. Born in the Epworth Rectory on June 28, 1703, he was the thirteenth child in a family which eventually numbered nineteen children born in twenty years. When a small boy he was rescued from the fire which destroyed the Rectory, and his mother always looked upon him as "a brand plucked from the burning".

The head of the family was the Reverend Samuel Wesley, Master of Arts of Cambridge University, of whom Mrs. Harrison does not draw a very alluring picture. Educated in a Dissenting school, he took orders in the Church of England and married when a curate with a stipend of thirty pounds a year. His career as a parish priest at Epworth was a troubled one. Like a true High Churchman he was strict in the observance of Fasts and Festivals and enforced discipline with an iron hand, compelling adulterers to stand in public garbed in white. He loved to call himself "the poet of Axeholme" and was somewhat of a Biblical scholar. Owing in part to his political opinions, he fell foul of the Dissenters in Epworth. Twice his house was set on fire, and he was more than once threatened by an angry mob. As head of the family he was at times tyrannical, capricious and egotistical, with small understanding of either wife or children. Although in receipt of a comfortable stipend, he had little sense of the value of money and the good man knew what it was to be imprisoned in Lincoln jail for debt. He was, however, said to have mellowed in later life. Perhaps his chief merit was his stringent orthodoxy. This was remembered when he died at the age of seventy-two. His wife, Susanna, composed the inscription on his tombstone, which reads:

Here
Lyeth all that was Mortal
of Samuel Wesley, A. M.
He was Rector of Epworth
39 Years and Departed
this life 25 of April,
1735

Aged 72.
As he liv'd so he died in
the true Catholick Faith
of the Holy Trinity in
Unity, and that Jesus Xt
is God Incarnate: and the
only Saviour of Mankind.

¹¹*Piette, p. 446.*

The personage of the family was Susanna, "the really glorious Susanna". She was the beautiful daughter of Dr. Annesley, a noted Puritan divine of London, who had been ejected from his living in the Church of England. From her childhood Susanna had been accustomed to listen in her father's house to abstruse theological discussions, and learned to take part in them. Mrs. Harrison says that "Her very maiden love of Samuel Wesley had been born in a theological argument",¹² for he had won her back to a belief in the Divinity of Christ when she was inclined to stray into the Unitarian fold. With small help, and no little hindrance from her husband, she brought up her family in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. "They imbibed theology with their mother's milk"; and not only theology, but mental discipline.

Possibly because of his miraculous delivery from death by fire, she seems to have felt a special responsibility for the training of John, as witness this entry:

"Evening, May 17, 1711:—Son John.

*"I do intend to be more particularly careful of the soul of this child, that Thou hast so mercifully provided for, than ever I have been; that I may do my endeavour to instil into his mind the principles of Thy true religion and virtue. Lord, give me grace to do it sincerely and prudently, and bless my attempts with good success."*¹³

Right well she succeeded. She trained him so well that at the tender age of eight he was allowed to make his first communion. As long as she lived John turned to his mother for counsel in personal and theological matters, and some of her letters to him are classic. It is not too much to say that John Wesley owed to her more than life.

This remarkable woman died in 1742, having a desire to depart and be with Christ. It fell to John's lot to read the commendatory prayer of the Church at the bedside of both his father and mother. After her passing, he and his sisters gathered around the bed and fulfilled her last request: "Children, as soon as I am released, sing a Psalm of praise to God." He officiated at her funeral in London. "It was," he said, "one of the most solemn assemblies I ever saw, or expect to see on this side eternity."¹⁴

At the age of ten John was sent to the celebrated Charterhouse School in London, where the fare was as plain as at Epworth, but the scholarship sound. In 1720, when he was seventeen years old, he won a scholarship of forty pounds per annum at Christ Church College, Oxford, and six years later was elected a Fellow of Lincoln College.

¹²Harrison, *p.*

¹³Tyerman, *Vol. i, p.*

¹⁴Tyerman, *Vol. iii, pp. 390-91.*

The Fellows of Lincoln were required to take priest's orders in the Church of England. His father warned him against entering the ministry "as Eli's sons, to eat a piece of bread", and urged the need of a thorough knowledge of the Holy Scriptures in the original tongues. At the age of twenty-two he was ordered Deacon by Bishop Potter, who, in later years, was broad-minded enough to say of the Methodists: "These gentlemen are irregular: but they have done good; and I pray God to bless them."¹⁵ Three years later he was advanced to the priesthood at Oxford by the same bishop.

In 1727 he removed to Wroote, in Lincolnshire, to serve as his father's curate. The people were described as "unpolished wights", as "dull as asses", and with heads "as impervious as stones".

Two years later he was recalled to his duties as Fellow of Lincoln College, and remained at Oxford till his departure for Georgia in 1735. On his return to the University, he became an active member of the "Holy Club", which had been organized by his brother, Charles, and with which George Whitefield was later associated. It was composed of a small group of seriously-minded Oxford men; some tutors in the colleges; others under-graduates. The strict rules of discipline were inspired by Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*. They fasted regularly and made their weekly communion in the Cathedral. As they wended their way thither a light-hearted undergraduate exclaimed, "Here is a new set of Methodists 'set up'". "As the name," wrote John Wesley, "was new and quaint, it clave to them immediately, and, from that time, all that had any connection with them were thus distinguished."¹⁶ The Club abounded in good works. They visited the poor and preached to the prisoners in the Castle, administered the Sacrament once a month, and, in addition, after providing for their own bare necessities, gave the balance of their income to the needy.

Wesley's Oxford days were probably the happiest in his life, and he never lost his love for the city and university. Like John Henry Newman, he visited it again in his old age. "Oxford had set her seal on him, and none of Oxford's sons loved her better."¹⁷

In 1732 James Edward Oglethorpe, a member of the English parliament, founded a colony in Georgia as a refuge for those who were imprisoned for debt, and extended the hospitality of the settlement to a group of Moravians. He invited John Wesley to go to Georgia and minister to the people. When he consulted his mother, she said, "Had I twenty sons, I should rejoice if they were all so employed, even if I

¹⁵Tyerman, *Vol. I*, p. 43.

¹⁶Wesley's *Works*, *Vol. vii*, p. 402. For an illuminating discussion of the origin of the term "Methodist" cf. Tyerman, *Vol. i*, p. 67.

¹⁷Lunn. *John Wesley*, p. 44.

could never see them again".¹⁸ Accordingly, with his brother, Charles, and a company of Moravians, he set sail on October 14, 1735. In a letter written four days before he gave as one of his reasons this: "My chief motive is the hope of saving my own soul. I hope to learn the true sense of the gospel of Christ by preaching it to the heathen."¹⁹

His destination was Savannah, which then consisted of about forty houses. Charles, who also served as secretary to Oglethorpe, took charge of the work at Frederica, but left the colony after five months, much to the relief of all concerned. Once established in Savannah, Wesley proceeded to administer the parish in accordance with his High Church principles. On Sundays he read morning prayer at five o'clock in the morning; at eleven he had Holy Communion and sermon; Catechizing at two; evening prayer at three. At night he conducted an informal meeting. Every day in Holy Week he administered the Sacrament and preached a sermon. He devoted three hours a day to pastoral visitation. His plan to evangelize the Indians was frustrated by their stubborn refusal to hear "the great word which the white man had to teach".

Had Wesley been content with such a programme all might have been well, but he antagonized his congregation by a strict enforcement of discipline. None were admitted to the Holy Communion save those who had given at least one day's notice of their intention to commune. The tragic story of his refusal to communicate Sophy Williamson, on the ground that she had given no such notice, is too well known to enlarge upon. He required all god-parents to be communicants; neither would he baptize save by immersion—except in cases of delicate health. These requirements, together with his denunciation of slavery, and his opposition to the introduction into the colony of spirituous liquors, were too much for the rough settlers. At the instigation of Robert Causton a Grand Jury, composed, among others, of Romanists, one avowed infidel, three Baptists and sixteen other Dissenters, found a true bill against him, though ecclesiastical offences were outside their jurisdiction. These circumstances convinced Wesley that his work in Georgia was done, and he wrote:

"And as soon as evening prayers were over, about eight o'clock, the tide then serving, I shook off the dust from my feet, and left Georgia, having preached the Gospel there (with much weakness indeed and many infirmities) not as I ought, but as I was able, one year and nearly nine months."²⁰

¹⁸*Tyerman, Vol. i, p. 109.*

¹⁹*Ibid., p. 115.*

²⁰*Lunn, p. 85.*

Public notices had been posted forbidding him to leave the town, but he eluded pursuit; made his way through the trackless forest; tore his flesh on brambles; slept in the open, and on Christmas Eve sailed from Charleston, bruised in body and broken in spirit. In a brilliant chapter, entitled "Down and Out", Mrs. Harrison writes:

"The staff of his religion had broken in his hand. The Holy Club was vanquished. In spite of a soul-shattering effort it had failed in the rough and tumble of life. The Colonists of Georgia had said that it was not suited to the needs of a new colony, and they but spoke the truth, for it was too academic for brute man and brute nature. After all was said and done it had come out of a college quad and out of a scholar's monkish cell."²¹

From this outline of Wesley's career up to the time he returned from Georgia to England we turn to his "Private Life" as depicted with such devastating frankness by Mrs. Harrison in "*Son to Susanna*".

In measured words she depicts a Wesley susceptible to friendship with women, but completely lacking in understanding the way of a maid with a man. As the reviewer of an earlier biography bluntly said, "He was a good deal of a fool about women". As an Oxford undergraduate he rode over to Stanton Rectory, where dwelt Sally Kirkham, young, radiant and vital. Their friendship ripened as they jointly read Thomas à Kempis. Notwithstanding his oft repeated determination never to marry, Wesley began to dream of an engagement and marriage seven years hence when he would be thirty. But Sally had no idea of waiting so long, and married the village schoolmaster. Then came the beginnings of a romance with a Mrs. Pendarves, who dubbed him behind his back, "Primitive Christianity". She, too, sought happiness elsewhere.

This experience was repeated in Georgia, where he fell in love with Sophy Hopky. In the flickering light of a camp fire he said to her, "Miss Sophy, I should think myself happy if I was to spend my life with you". Sophy was more than willing. But in the cold light of the morning Wesley found it expedient to retire "for a while to desire the direction of God", and, to his genuine dismay Sophy married one Williamson. Thus the desire of his eyes was taken away at a stroke.

His most serious and tragic love affair was in his later days in England. The widow of a sea captain who was lost overboard, Grace Murray, first heard John Wesley preach at five o'clock in the morning, and cast in her lot with "the people called Methodists". She became so

²¹Harrison, pp. 176-77.

close a friend that, in an unguarded moment, he said shyly to her, "If ever I marry, I think you will be the person", to which she answered, "This is too great a blessing for me . . . all I could have wished for under heaven if I had dared to wish for it". Friendship developed into courtship, carried on as she nursed him in sickness; kept his house, and, with others, accompanied him on his journeyings.

The course of true love was interrupted by John Bennet, a Methodist preacher of parts, who, too, had been nursed by Grace Murray and had fallen in love with her. When Wesley hesitated on the brink of matrimony, as he had done with Sally Kirkham and Sophy Hopky, Bennet pursued his advantage, and the fair lady wavered between the bird in hand and the bird in the bush. It was at this point that Charles Wesley took a hand. Fearing his brother might marry, he came in hot haste declaring, "All our preachers would leave us, all our societies disperse, if you marry so mean a woman", referring to the fact that Grace Murray had once been in domestic service. Nor was this all. He asserted that people would say, "She was your mistress before she was your wife."²² There is reason to believe that this new-found zeal was inspired by a fear that he would lose the allowance of one hundred pounds a year which he had received from John. Charles then brought his wiles to bear upon Grace Murray. She was told that "Mr. Wesley will have nothing to do with you", whereupon she answered, "Well, I will have Mr. Bennet, if he will have me". They were married in St. Andrew's Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the presence of George Whitefield and Charles Wesley. It fell to the lot of Whitefield to break the news to John. Once more, his house was left unto him desolate.

Mrs. Harrison gives a vivid account of the gossip, amounting to slander, which was permeating Methodist circles concerning this affair. Stunned by the tidings John Wesley found refuge in his beloved Oxford and "its dreaming spires". Weary of malicious tongues, he was tempted to remain in cloistered seclusion, but only for a moment. He had put his hand to the plough, and could not turn back. So, once more, he took up the reins of the leadership of the Methodists who at times proved to be a willful and rebellious people.

Then it was that a friend suggested to him the desirability of marriage, and marriage outside the circle of Methodism. Reluctantly, he acceded to the suggestion, and wrote, "I resolved to take up my cross, and marry".²³ His choice fell upon Molly Vazielle, widow of a London banker, and the mother of grown up children, and who had nursed Wesley through an illness. This strong-minded woman, who, as Mrs.

²²*Son to Susanna*, p.

²³*Harrison*, p. 318.

Harrison remarks, "caught him between the saddle and the ground", brooked no delay, leaving Wesley no time to consult his preachers. To this day the time and place of this disastrous marriage are unknown. Charles Wesley was taken by surprise and indulged in impotent rage, and it was reported that the Methodists "hid their faces"²⁴

Well they might, for a more unsuitable match could not be imagined. He had not the slightest sympathy with, or understanding of, Methodism, despising most of its adherents as hypocrites. Charles Wesley was her set aversion. It must be admitted that John put his work before his wife, and this she bitterly resented. Orthodox Methodist writers like Tyerman draw a veil over those thirty years of married life, but they were years of crucifixion. Truly, John Wesley endured hardness as a good soldier. John Hampson describes an unforgettable scene:

"I was once," he writes, "on the point of committing murder. Once, when I was in the north of Ireland, I went into a room and found Mrs. Wesley foaming with fury. Her husband was on the floor, where she had been trailing him by the hair of his head; and she herself was still holding in her hand venerable locks which she had plucked by the roots. I felt as though I could have knocked the soul out of her."²⁵

In 1771 Mrs. Wesley left home, taking with her a bundle of his private letters in the hope of discovering infidelity. He writes in his journal:

"Wed. 23.—For what excuse I know not to this day—set out for Newcastle, purposing 'never to return'.—*Non eam reliqui; non dimisi; non revocabo.*"²⁶

She did indeed return for a short time, but left again, and when after she made new overtures to resume relations, Wesley demanded that she unsay the slanders she had freely circulated concerning him. He wrote:

"For instance, you have said over and over, That I have lived in adultery These Twenty Years. Do you believe this, or do you not? If you do, how can you think of living with such a Monster? If you do not, give it me under your hand. Is not this the least you can do?"²⁷

She died on October 8, 1781. Three days later Wesley writes:

"I came to London and was informed that my wife died on Monday. This evening she was buried, though I was not informed of it till a day or two after."²⁸

²⁴Harrison, p. 319.

²⁵Tyerman, Vol. ii, pp. 110-111.

²⁶Journal (Abridged edition), p. 347.

²⁷Lunn, p. 276.

²⁸Tyerman, Vol. iii, p. 365.

Other important questions call for consideration—notably his doctrinal position and his relation to the Church of England, there being involved in the latter the problem of his ordination of Dr. Coke as “Superintendent” of the Methodist societies of America.

Throughout his long life John Wesley was a son of the Church of England. He died, as he had lived, “in the communion of the Catholic Church”. Later in life he wrote Lord North saying, “I am a High Churchman, and the son of a High Churchman”. It must, however, be noted that it was the High Churchmanship of the eighteenth century, which knew nothing of later ritual developments, or of modern Anglo-Catholicism. Dr. Lee makes an apt quotation from a pamphlet published in 1703, which said anyone who appears

“To have a hearty zeal for the Church, is at all strict in the observance of its rules and orders, expresses any concern for its safety, or is found to be in those measures which are necessary for its security and preservation, is likely to be called a High Churchman.”²⁹

One cannot fail to be struck with the similarity of this statement to that of Bishop John Henry Hobart, who described High Churchmanship as “denoting an eminent degree of attachment to the essential characteristics of the Church, and a zeal for their advancement.”³⁰

John Wesley conformed to this definition. He highly regarded the Fathers of the Church:

“I exceedingly reverence them as well as their writings, and esteem them very highly in love. I reverence them because they were Christians . . . and I reverence their writings, because they describe true, genuine Christianity, and direct us to the strongest evidence of Christine doctrine.”

He described those who wrote before the Council of Nicea as “the most authentic commentators on Scripture, as being nearest the fountain, and eminently endued with that Spirit by whom all Scripture was given”.

In season and out of season he urged the members of the societies to follow his example in a regular observance of the Feast and Fasts, and in 1744 directed them “To be at church and the Lord’s Table every week; to observe as days of fasting and abstinence all Fridays in the year”. So well were these rules generally followed that as late as 1773 he could write:

“The Methodists, so called, observe more of the Articles, Rubrics, and Canons of the Church than any other people in

²⁹Lee, p. 27.

³⁰Hobart. *The Highchurchman Vindicated*, p. 6.

the three kingdoms. They vary from none of them willingly, although the English canons were never established by law."³¹

High Churchman as he was, he could have neither part nor lot with Dissenters from the Church of England, nor with Papists. After a visit to the Isle of Man, when he was seventy-four, he wrote: "A more loving, simple-hearted people than this I never saw—and no wonder; for they had but six Papists and no Dissenters on the Island,"³² and he wrote John Nelson, a Methodist lay preacher, saying: "John, I love thee from my heart: yet rather than see thee a Dissenting minister, I wish to see thee smiling in thy coffin."

"I find," he wrote in 1778, "more life in the Church prayers, than in any formal extemporary prayers of Dissenters."

He placed a high value upon the Book of Common Prayer

"I believe there is no Liturgy in the world, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety, than the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England,"³³

and it is noteworthy that he prepared and issued a revision of the Prayer Book for Methodist use.

On the extremely rare occasions when, by force of circumstances, he attended a Dissenting place of worship, he remarked, "How much more simple, as well as more solemn, is the service of the Church of England"³⁴ In 1779 in Glasgow he was at the Church of England service in the morning and the Kirk in the afternoon, and writes in his *Journal*:

"Truly, no man having drunk old wine, straightway desireth new. How dull and dry did the latter appear to me, who had been accustomed to the former."³⁵

His High Churchmanship embraced not only discipline and worship, but also doctrine. Both John and Charles Wesley were strong believers in the two Sacraments as the divinely appointed means of grace.

John's belief in Baptismal regeneration is attested by the fact that he published an abridgement of *A Short Treatise on Baptism* written by his father in 1700. There the doctrine is set forth in undiluted form. "By baptism, we who are by nature children of wrath, are made children of God". Baptism "is more than barely being admitted into the

³¹Lee, p. 220.

³²Lunn, p. 347.

³³Baines-Griffiths. *Wesley the Anglican*, p. 110.

³⁴Tyerman, Vol. iii, p. 278.

³⁵Lunn, p. 347.

Church. . . By Water, then, as a means, the water of Baptism, we are regenerated or born again; whence it is also called by the Apostle 'the washing of baptism' ".³⁶ Nor did his experience of "salvation by faith" change these views. Dr. Lee tells that five months after that experience John and Charles visited the Bishop of London seeking his approval for the re-baptism of those who had been baptized by Dissenting ministers and had come to question its validity.³⁷

Dr. Lee observes that Wesley "regarded the Lord's Supper "as at the heart of Christian worship". It was to him an essential means of grace. He constantly urged his people regularly to commune. As late as 1788 he published a sermon, written in 1733, on "*The Duty of Constant Communion*. Three years before his death he wrote one of his preachers concerning a young man who neglected this ordinance, saying: "If he obstinately persists in that neglect, you can't give him any more tickets for our society."³⁸ What he enforced upon others, he practised himself. It has already been noticed that the members of the Holy Club at Oxford made their communion weekly. Later Wesley "received the Lord's Supper on an average of once every five days throughout his apostolic life". It is a matter of record that in 1774, from Christmas to Epiphany, he made his communion every day. He himself wrote: "During the twelve festival days, we had the Lord's Supper daily: a little emblem of the Primitive Church." This experience he repeated in 1788 when he was eighty-five years old.

In his earlier days he regarded episcopal ordination as bestowing the essential authority to administer the sacraments. In 1745 he wrote:

"We believe it would not be right for us to administer either baptism or the Lord's Supper unless we had a commission so to do from those bishops whom we apprehend to be in succession from the Apostles . . . We believe that the three-fold order of ministers . . . is not only authorized by its apostolical succession, but also by the written Word."³⁹

Later, he modified his views on apostolic succession in the literal sense, but, so long as he could prevent it, no Methodist preacher, either in England or America, was allowed to administer either of the sacraments. Some of the preachers were inclined to rebel, but Wesley withstood them to the face. In a sermon published in the *Arminian Magazine* in 1790, on the text, "No man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron", he spoke plainly:

³⁶Lee, p. 241.

³⁷Ibid., p. 242.

³⁸Ibid., p. 255.

³⁹Ibid., p. 243.

"God has commissioned you to call sinners to repentance; but it does by no means follow from hence, that ye are commissioned to baptize, or to administer the Lord's Supper. Ye never dreamt of this, for ten or twenty years after ye began to preach . . . O contain yourselves within your own bounds. Be content with preaching the gospel. Do the work of evangelists. I earnestly advise you, abide in your place; keep your own station."⁴⁰

The high Eucharistic doctrine of the Wesleys may be gathered from the Methodism Hymnal. In 1745, under the guise of "Presbyters of the Church of England", John and Charles Wesley published *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, from which Dr. Lee makes some significant quotations. Fasting and prayer are indeed

"Good vessels all to draw the grace
Out of salvation's well,"

"But none like this mysterious rite
Which dying mercy gave,
Can draw forth all His promised might
And all His will to save."

The doctrine of the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice is clearly set forth in these hymns. Though He was once offered for sins

"Yet may we celebrate here below,
And daily thus Thine offering show
Exposed before Thy father's eyes;
In this tremendous mystery
Present Thee bleeding on a tree,
Our everlasting sacrifice."

And there is more than a suggestion of what Canon Bright called the prevailing presence" in such lines as these:

"We need not now go up to heaven,
To bring the long-sought Saviour down:
Thou art to all already given,
Thou dost even now Thy banquet crown:
To every faithful soul appear,
And show Thy real presence here."

To the end of his long life, John Wesley remained in the communion of the Church of England; he never contemplated the possi-

⁴⁰Tyerman, Vol. iii, p. 635.

bility of leaving it. Even after his ordination of Dr. Coke in 1784, he wrote his brother, Charles:

"This does in nowise interfere with my remaining in the Church of England, from which I have no more desire to separate than I had fifty years ago."⁴¹

How consistently he maintained this position is revealed in his letters, sermons, and other writings. Under date of March 25, 1787, he wrote Samuel Bardsley, an itinerant preacher:

"I still think, when the Methodists leave the Church of England, God will leave them. Every year more and more of the clergy are convinced of the truth, and grow well affected towards us. It would be contrary to all common sense, as well as to good conscience, to make a separation now."⁴²

In his *Journal* Wesley thus records the action of the Methodist Conference of 1789: "July 28—The case of separation from the Church was largely considered, and we were all unanimously against it."⁴³ His last word on this subject appeared in the *Arminian Magazine* for April, 1790. He there writes:

"I never had any design of separating from the Church; I have no such design now; I do not believe the Methodists in general design it. I do, and will do, all in my power to prevent such an event; nevertheless, in spite of all I can do, many will separate from it, although I am inclined to think not one-half nor perhaps a third of them. These will be so bold and injudicious as to form a separate party, which, consequently, will dwindle into a dry, dull, separate sect. In flat opposition to them, I declare, once more, that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment will ever separate from it."⁴⁴

When he was charged with such separation in fact, though not in theory, he admitted that he deviated from the rules of the Church in "preaching abroad", in forming societies and the employment of lay preachers, but added:

"All this is not separating from the Church. So far from it, whenever I have opportunity I attend the Church service myself, and advise all our societies so to do. Nevertheless,

⁴¹*Lunn*, p. 343.

⁴²*Tyerman*, Vol. iii, p.

⁴³*Ibid.*, Vol. iii, p. 586.

⁴⁴*Lunn*, p. 347.

the generality even of religious people naturally think, 'I am inconsistent'. And they cannot but think so, unless they observe my two principles. The one, that I dare not separate from the Church, that I believe it would be a sin so to do; the other, that I believe it would be a sin not to *vary* from it in the points above mentioned. I say, put these two principles together, first, I will not *separate* from the Church; yet, secondly, in cases of necessity, I will *vary* from it; and inconsistency passes away. I have been true to my profession from 1730 to this day."⁴⁵

So with Charles Wesley. Writing of the conference, aforementioned, he said: "My brother and I, and the preachers were unanimous for continuing in the old ship."⁴⁶ Charles died on March 20, 1788. On his deathbed he sent for the vicar of the parish in which he lived, and said to him:

"Sir, whatever the world may have thought of me, I have lived and I die in the communion of the Church of England, and I will be buried in the yard of my parish church."⁴⁷

It was eminently fitting that he was carried to his grave by eight of his brother priests.

There remains one problem—still unsolved—how such an avowed High Churchman as John Wesley could proceed to ordain Doctor Thomas Coke, already a presbyter like Wesley, as "Superintendent" of Methodist work in America.

Of the fact there can be no doubt. Under his own hand and seal, dated, September 18, 1784, he says:

"I have this day set apart as superintendent, by the imposition of my hands and prayer (being assisted by other ordained ministers), Thomas *Coke*, Doctor of Civil Law, a presbyter of the Church of England, and a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern as a fit person to preside over the Flock of Christ."

His reasons for such an act are not far to seek. In the first place, he was distressed that the American Methodists, still under his care, suffered "for want of ministers to administer the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England". In this connection it should be remembered that, with the

⁴⁵*Tyerman, Vol. iii, p. 636.*

⁴⁶*Lunn, p. 344.*

⁴⁷*Ibid., pp. 350-51.*

The full text is quoted by Piette, p. 389-90.

exception of Francis Asbury, all the Methodist ministers at work in America had returned to England at the outbreak of the War of the Revolution, and their people were left as sheep without shepherds. In the second place, let it be noted that John Wesley had pleaded with the Bishop of London to ordain one of the preachers for America, only to be met with a blank refusal. In the third, and perhaps most important place, Wesley had modified his views on the Episcopate.

Without question in his earlier ministry he held without qualification the doctrine of apostolic succession; and that episcopal ordination was necessary to a valid ministry and a valid sacrament. In the course of time he modified that view. Under date of January 20, 1746, he writes:

"Mon. 20. I set out for Bristol. On the road I read over Lord King's *'Account of the Primitive Church'*. In spite of the vehement prejudice of my education, I was ready to believe that this was a fair and impartial draught; but, if so, it would follow that bishops and presbyters are (essentially) of one order, and that originally every Christian congregation was a church independent of all others."⁴⁸

This new view was strengthened as he read in 1756 Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, and wrote of it:

"I think he has unanswerably proved that neither Christ nor His Apostles prescribed any particular form of Church government, and that the plea for the divine right of Episcopacy was never heard of in the primitive Church."⁴⁹

Given the adoption of such views, it is not strange that he could write to his brother, Charles, who had strongly protested against this action, "I firmly believe, I am a scriptural episcopos as much as any man in England or in Europe". It was this belief which prompted his unprecedented act. Many questions have arisen as to his precise intention. Did he deliberately intend to make Coke a Bishop in the generally accepted sense, or not? Here "doctors" hopelessly differ. On the one hand, it is urged that Wesley carefully abstained from using the word "consecrate". He certified it as an "ordination". Likewise he did not use the word "Bishop", but "Superintendent", and later sharply rebuked Francis Asbury for assuming the title of "Bishop". On the other hand, it is pointed out that on the day before Coke's ordination Wesley set apart Thomas Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as "elders" in a separate act. His record reads:

⁴⁸Lunn, p. 340.

⁴⁹Lee, p. 257.

"Sept. 1. prayed, Ordained R. Whatcoat and T. Vasey.
Sept. 2. prayed, Ordained Dr. Coke."

Undoubtedly, Charles Wesley believed that his brother intended to make Coke a bishop—as did indeed Coke himself. The lines of Charles, based on this belief, are famous:

"How easy now are Bishops made
At man or woman's whim;
Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
But who laid hands on him?"

Perhaps the nearest solution of the problem of intention is summed up in Dr. Lee's words:

"Did Wesley then intend to make Coke a bishop? Yes, in Wesley's meaning of the word. He did not intend to convey any sacerdotal powers . . . Nor did he intend to convey, confer upon Coke any ministerial power of ordination, whatever Coke thought. That power Coke already had, according to Wesley's theory, by virtue of his ordination as a presbyter of the Church of England. But in ordaining Coke he intended to do something, and something different from that which he did for Whatcoat and Vasey."⁵⁰

And Lee adds,

"But by his ordination Wesley sought to set Dr. Coke apart as a scriptural and primitive bishop, according to Wesley's idea of that office; and he defined the function by his translation of the title, 'superintendent'. He conferred no new spiritual character but an administrative authority."⁵⁰

It is a relief to turn from such questions to glimpse the closing years of the "Father of Methodism". They were peaceful years, though not without a strain of sadness. One by one his contemporaries had passed on—father, mother, brother, associates of a common fellowship; so that again and again the old man had to sing,

"My company before is gone,
And I am left alone with Thee."

Controversies had died down and the Church of England had come to recognize the worth of the man and his work, which had so much to do with the revival of the Evangelical movement in the English Church.

⁵⁰*Lee, pp. 256-271.*

Though "the outward man decayed the inward man was renewed day by day". In his eighty-sixth year he preached in almost every county in England, not infrequently riding fifty miles a day. The last letter he wrote was addressed to William Wilberforce, then beginning his campaign against slavery. The old man wrote: "Go on, in the name of God, and in the power of His might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish before it."⁵¹

The end came when he was eighty-eight. It was a triumphant close to a noble life. The afternoon before he died he sang two verses of the hymn beginning:

"I'll praise my Maker while I've breath;
And, when my voice is lost in death,
Praise shall employ my nobler powers:
My days of praise shall ne'er be past,
While life, and thought, and being last,
Or immortality endures."⁵²

Later he exclaimed twice, "The best of all is, God is with us". About ten o'clock on the morning of March 2, 1791, he whispered, "Farewell", and fell on sleep, and the trumpets sounded on the other side.

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⁵¹Lunn, p. 354.

⁵²Isaac Watts.

BOOK REVIEWS

Marcus Whitman, M. D., Pioneer and Martyr. By Clifford Merrill Drury, Ph. D.
The Claxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho. Pp. 473. 1937.

Dr. Drury's account of Marcus Whitman makes a most readable and fascinating book. He has obviously gone far afield and dug thoroughly into libraries and records to gather his material. Alexander Flick, State Historian of New York, wrote the Foreword, in which he states that "Dr. Drury has written the fullest and most accurate life of Whitman. The material is well organized, the presentation is judicial, the style is dignified and yet sympathetic. Controversial questions are handled impartially, and the conclusions are based on solid foundations. As a study in American pioneer heroism the book should be read by every citizen of the nation". After reading the book everyone would agree with Mr. Flick. Both sides of controversial questions have been well presented.

The ancestries of Marcus Whitman and of his wife are briefly sketched and his own early life is rapidly covered. Whitman's own development and desire to be a minister with his final studies as a physician and then his volunteering for work in Oregon are also outlined. Marcus Whitman was born in 1802, and in 1835 received a commission from Dr. Greene, of the American Board. After a preliminary journey to the Rockies he returned to Angelica, New York, and was married to Narcissa Prentiss in 1836. After many delays they started on their trip to Oregon. Finally, in October of that year, Whitman, with the aid of Henry Harmon Spalding, located the Mission at Waiilatpu, not far from the Hudson's Bay Company's fort at Walla Walla. The Nez Perces Indians strongly advised against this location because they said, "The Cayuses are bad people". The difficulties of carrying on the Mission station with none too friendly and somewhat hostile Indians and with some disagreements between the Missionaries, who were located in various places 150 miles apart, are all graphically described. Dr. Whitman did a great deal to encourage emigrants and insisted that it would be possible to bring wagons across the mountains. As a result of his efforts a great many whites came to Oregon, and this led to his famous ride to Washington and the controversy about "Whitman saved Oregon". This famous ride in the winter of 1842-43, was in itself an act of heroism, as he attempted his trip to Washington across the snow covered Rockies. Dr. Drury's theory is that Whitman left Oregon primarily on Mission business, but there may have been in his mind the unexpressed thought that the United States should claim Oregon and not barter away her claims. There is considerable discussion as to how much influence Whitman exercised in Washington, but there can be little doubt that through his efforts the emigrant stream was encouraged and because there were so many who came to Oregon it was but natural that the United States should exert her claim against Great Britain.

In 1843 Oregon changed with an Indian inhabited country to one becoming more and more filled with whites who took up the land and drove the Indians off their hunting grounds.

Dr. Whitman may have been a little overbearing towards the Indians and may not have handled them as carefully as he might have done, but he had many difficulties to deal with as there were half-breeds stirring up trouble, which centered around Whitman, and many Indians died of measles, which was to them a strange sickness against which they had no racial immunity. Finally, on November 29, 1847, the Indians massacred all the white men at the station and also Mrs. Whitman.

The book has a number of appendices, which list all the letters of Dr. and Mrs. Whitman, the cause of Whitman's ride to Washington and a thorough discussion of the Whitman controversy as well as a list of the "eyewitness" accounts of the massacre", and also a complete bibliography and index.

W. R. H. HODGKIN.

His Excellency George Clinton, Critic of the Constitution. By E. Wilder Spaulding. New York: the Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 325.

Governor George Clinton played many important parts alike in the State of New York and the country at large. He was the friend of George Washington, the rival of Thomas Jefferson; the inveterate foe of Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr. The son of an immigrant surveyor, he was at one time or another a soldier, lawyer, trader, and always a politician. He served as a member of the provincial assembly and the Continental Congress; was appointed a State and Continental brigadier-general; was seven times a governor of the State of New York, and twice vice-president of the United States. The author of this political biography, who is chief of the Publication of the State Department, fills in the outline of Clinton's career in a volume which is destined to take front rank. In brilliant fashion he recreates the background of Clinton's period, and while he accords high praise, he is not unmindful of his subject's limitations. It is a discriminating appraisal, both of the man and his times, and, as such, is deserving of a permanent place in the annals of the making of the United States.

E. C. C.

The Life Story of Rev. Francis Makemie. By Rev. I. Marshall Page. Grand Rapids, Michigan. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. 258.

Born of Scotch parents in Ireland in 1658, Francis Makemie was ordained in the Irish Presbyterian Church, came to America about 1682 and first settled in Maryland as minister of Rehoboth, the oldest Presbyterian Church in the United States. His ministry was exercised there; in the Island of Barbadoes and in Accomack County, Virginia. He is said to have been the first Presbyterian to preach in Philadelphia and was the moving spirit in organizing the first Presbytery in this country. He played many parts, being a minister, attorney, dentist and doctor. Makemie made the best of both worlds. He carried on a lucrative trade with Barbadoes, accumulated several thousand acres of land, ran a sloop and owned slaves. All these activities are vividly set forth in this volume which sheds interesting and valuable light on life in the colonial period. The book is well printed and has some excellent illustrations. It has, however, some serious defects. For an author of repute to speak of "Rev. Kennedy" is unpardonable. Nor is it free from the grave fault of exaggeration. To declare that Makemie "laid the foundations of the American Republic" (p. 179), and to assert that he was "one of the

greatest men who ever walked the American continent" (p. 143), is obviously an over-statement and betrays a lack of that sober judgment which one looks for at the hands of any historian. When he comes to deal with matters affecting the Church of England in the American colonies the author is in places far from accurate. There is no justification for the assertion that "Episcopalians believe predestination" (p. 106). On page 153 he speaks of "Barstow, the church missionary" at Jamaica, not even according him his title as "Reverend". Presumably he means the Rev. John Bartow, rector of Jamaica parish. The author seems to have a special aversion for the Reverend George Keith. On page 118 he describes him as "a false knight". Twice he dubs him as "a false Quaker", who "went down in history as a miserable liar, bitterly hated to the end of his life" (p. 144). There is not a vestige of truth in these statements. They are untrue. Mr. Page, making them, owes an apology, not only to the memory of a good man, but also to the readers of this book.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Dick Sheppard and St. Martin's. By R. J. Northcott with an Introduction by Pat McCormick. Longmans Green and Co. 1937. Pp. 109.

Part of this volume is concerned with a brief—all too brief—biography of Dick Sheppard, followed by a sketch of his successor, Pat McCormick, and a general description of the work at St. Martin's in the Fields. In these pages Canon Sheppard stands out just as he was in life—scholarly; lovable; the unconventional Irish priest who was moved with compassion and ministered to all sorts and conditions of men; a man who was not afraid to experiment where others feared to tread. He was the first to broadcast a religious service, much to the dismay of the staid clerical brethren who shuddered to think it would be heard by men drinking at the bar with their hats on. His name will be had in everlasting remembrance.

Charles Inglis, Missionary, Loyalist, Bishop. 1734-1816. By Reginald V. Harris. General Board of Religious Education, Toronto. 1937. Pp. 186.

The diocese of Nova Scotia has just celebrated the organization of the Church of England in Canada one hundred and fifty years ago by the publication of the life and work of its first Bishop, Charles Inglis, former rector of Trinity Church in the city of New York. It forms an excellent supplement to the Life of Bishop Inglis by Mr. Lydekker, reviewed in this Magazine recently. The appendices are particularly valuable, containing as they do a list of the writings of the Bishop; a chronology; Sources and Bibliography. The biographical sketches of the clergy who served in Canada is of special interest as it includes those American loyalist clergy who migrated to Canada during or after the War of the Revolution.

Arthur Selden Lloyd. Extracts from the Correspondence of Arthur Selden Lloyd. 1938. Pp. 61.

Dr. Chapman has gathered together extracts from the letters of Bishop Lloyd, happily described as "sometime Bishop in the Church of God, and now a guest in his Father's house". They reflect the ripening wisdom of a man who is universally respected and beloved by all sorts and conditions of men, and are well worth preserving.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

Burr. What the Episcopal Church has done for America.

Leighton Parks. Address by Bishop William Lawrence. April 3.

Pennington. The Church of England in Early Colonial New Hampshire and the Rev. Arthur Browne.

St. Agnes Church, Franklin, N. C. The First Fifty Years.

The New American Church Monthly. May. Containing I. The Planting of the Church in Virginia. II. Chorley.

2. *Fifty Years of the Clerical Union.* Hardy.

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STEPHEN ELLIOTT, FIRST BISHOP OF GEORGIA

By Edgar Legare Pennington

THE pioneer bishop of a great commonwealth should be a figure of interest; and this is doubly true when he may be regarded not solely as a pioneer in matters ecclesiastical but also as a pioneer in culture. Stephen Elliott, first Bishop of Georgia, was a man of foresight; he looked over the wide expanse of northern and western Georgia—a land but recently wrested from the Indians and presenting its first straggling towns and villages—and he pictured a busy, well-populated state, offering unending opportunities and resources. He was a man of broad and varied interests: a preacher whose gifts were recognised throughout the Episcopal communion, a founder of institutions of higher learning, the president of Georgia Historical Society. Bishop Elliott was one of the most prominent advocates of the right of the negro to enlightenment and justice; and he showed how a southern bishop, of patrician ancestry, dealt with the problem of slavery; his example suggests that when the cataclysm occurred, the slavery issue may well have been on its way to a peaceful solution.

In a study of Stephen Elliott, we are able to trace the evolution of the culture of the newer South. Around him clustered movements which gradually moulded a frontier state into a settled one. The Georgia which he first knew was largely the Georgia of the old communities—Savannah, Augusta, and the towns along the Atlantic seaboard; during his lifetime the other sections were rapidly filled by white settlers from another stock, who replaced the red men, and who were at work developing new plantations and industries and laying the foundations of a populous section.

Stephen Elliott was born in Beaufort, South Carolina, the 31st of August, 1806. He was the oldest son of Stephen Elliott, renowned

in his day as a scholar, a writer, and an enthusiastic student of science (especially of botany). The future bishop's mother was Esther Habershams, a member of one of Georgia's best known families; and Stephen Elliott himself always claimed that he belonged to the states of both his parents. In 1812, his father moved to Charleston; and Stephen was prepared for college at the school of Mr. Hurlburt, a successful local teacher. In the fall of 1822, he entered the sophomore class at Harvard. There he remained until the following year, when, at the desire of his father, who preferred that he graduate in his native state, he joined the junior class of the South Carolina College. Among his classmates were the Honourable James H. Hammond, later governor of South Carolina and United States senator, and the Honourable Thomas L. Withers, who became a distinguished jurist. Elliott graduated in 1825, with third honours. Immediately afterwards, he began the study of law in the office of Mr. James L. Petigru, one of the leading members of the South Carolina bar. Two years later he was duly admitted to his profession.

At that time, great political questions were shaking the country. The young lawyer took a lively interest in the controversy; he was a States' Rights advocate—in fact, throughout his whole life he supported that doctrine. He believed in the sovereignty of the states over the Union, and felt that such a sovereignty was the only effective check upon the usurpation of the central government, should the latter be controlled by class interests, party passion, or popular instability. In the words of Thomas M. Hancok, "he loved his own State very dearly, and he believed that an honest, genuine, and practical love of the country was best felt and expressed in a just and generous love of the State."

His literary aspirations found an outlet in the old "*Southern Quarterly Review*," in which he collaborated with the brilliant Hugh Swinton Legare. Stephen Elliott, Sr., had founded this journal; and young Elliott worked enthusiastically for its success. In later years, he always spoke with pride of that periodical as a noble monument of the scholarship of his native state.

After practising law for several years in Charleston, young Elliott moved to Beaufort, where he continued his professional activity. Beaufort, an ancient and secluded town, was old St. Helena's parish in colonial days; many are its traditions and points of pride and interest. Elliott dearly loved the community and its people. There he found refinement and culture, a charm and courtesy, quite isolated from the turmoil of the world. It was at Beaufort that he made his decision to enter the ministry, even though for a young man of parts and family background it involved the sacrifice of a promising career as a lawyer.

In 1833, he was admitted a candidate for the ministry of the Episcopal Church; needless to say, he applied himself diligently to study. He

was ordained in the fall of 1835 by the right Reverend Nathaniel Bowen, D. D. (1779-1839), third Bishop of South Carolina. The ordination was held at Charleston; then for one month Elliott officiated as minister in charge of the parish of Wilton, South Carolina. His scholarship and eloquence had already attracted attention, however; and he was soon called to the work of teaching. He was elected to the chair of Sacred Literature and the Evidences of Christianity by the trustees of the South Carolina College; and the position of chaplain of that institution was attached to his program. In 1836, he was ordained priest.

One who knew him well has left us some reminiscences which help us to visualise Elliott as a young man, moulding lives in a southern college.

"Long of limb and tall of stature, with a full and vigorous frame, thoroughly yet easily erect, with full high brow, finely chiselled features and lofty crest; with a soft beaming blue eye and a complexion fair and fresh, without being ruddy; exquisitely graceful in his carriage, and quiet and easy in his movement, with his thin dark hair floating lightly around and from his head; his was a figure, as he passed along the crowded thoroughfare, upon which men turned to gaze, and the eyes of women rested with tenderness and veneration.

"His presence, though graceful, was eminently dignified and commanding. It quietly expressed a very sensitive deference for the opinions and feelings of others, ready to hear and quick to appreciate: yet a full and steady reliance on himself. . . . Often have we watched that tall and graceful figure come swinging along the College grounds in company with grave professor or cheerful student, in serious talk, or with his rich, soft, hearty laugh ringing out at some merry jest, and been conscious that a living grace was added to the picturesque scene within the bounds of the venerable school."¹

At college, Elliott was greatly beloved. The same writer gives his testimony.

"We can say that each and every one of those whose names stand upon the roll of the proud old College in those bright days, as well as all others who watched and cherished its progress at that time, learned to love, admire, honor, and revere him there. He was the pillar, the pride and the ornament of the College. It was his *Alma Mater*, and he took the deepest interest in its welfare. Its students formed the congregation to whom he preached the Gospel, and over whose expanding thoughts and hearts he watched and prayed. He yearned to make it a school of high learning, a rich source of truth and refinement, and the centre of a generous intellectual citizenship to the State."²

¹*Sermons by the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, p. vii.*

²*Op. cit., pp. vii.-viii.*

He was not willing that the future leaders of the South should rest content while other sections outstripped them in intellectual pursuits. "Will you let other States breed your scholars?" he asked one of his classes. "And will you be content to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to them?"

"In his own person he showed how high and gracious a thing was the pure gift of learning and the culture of letters, the charm and the power of the scholar. In the lecture room his clear and vigorous analysis, and his rich, polished, and often passionate words, taught them how to think, and how to utter their thoughts. His hopeful voice cheered everybody. . . . He deeply and gladly sympathized with every aspiration after a higher culture, however humble. He encouraged each to do his best, although that best might be but little. To him the aspiration itself was a grace, the effort itself was elevating. To him there was every imaginable difference between the high aims of even the weak, and the dull recklessness of aimless strength."³

He loved books; and for his day, he was a connoisseur in printing, paper, and binding. The foundation of the new library building was laid under his auspices; and he watched and pushed forward its construction. When the books were at length brought into the building, he supervised their arrangement. After the classification was done, he turned to the students around him and said: "Now, young gentlemen, I will expect in after years, each one of you who can afford it, to bring some work of art, some statute, bust, or picture to adorn these alcoves."

Elliott filled the chair of professor but a short time. In 1840, he was elected first Bishop of Georgia. He took leave of the college in December of that year; and on the 28th of February, 1841, he was consecrated Bishop at Christ Church, Savannah, by William Meade (1789-1862), third Bishop of Virginia; Levi Silliman Ives (1797-1867), second Bishop of North Carolina; and Christopher Edwards Gadsden (1785-1852), fourth Bishop of South Carolina. He lost no time in the task of organising and building up the scattered and disorganised Church of his Diocese. At the time of his consecration, his jurisdiction contained only about three hundred communicants; its expansion and growth were largely the result of his remarkable qualities of leadership and aggressiveness.

The First Convention of the Diocese of Georgia was held at St. Paul's Church, Augusta, February 24th-28th, 1823, after previous notice given. The Reverend Abiel Carter, rector of Christ Church, Savannah, presided. Three clergymen attended—the Reverend Edmund Matthews, of Christ Church, St. Simon's Island; the Reverend Mr. Carter; and

³*Op. cit.*, p. viii.

the Reverend Hugh Smith, rector of St. Paul's, Augusta. There were five lay delegates present—Doctor J. B. Read and Mr. Peter Guerrard, both of Christ Church, Savannah; and Mr. John Course, Edward F. Campbell, Esq., and Doctor Thomas I. Wray, all of Augusta. Constitution and Canons were drafted and adopted; and delegates were elected to attend the General Convention. It was moved to draw up a suitable address to the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the different parts of the state, in order to organise them in the movement. Bishop Nathaniel Bowen of South Carolina was invited to perform episcopal functions. It was resolved, "That a Society for the extension of religion in this State, be instituted and placed under the control of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Georgia"; and the Reverend Messrs. Carter and Smith were appointed to draw up a Constitution. They complied; and "The Protestant Episcopal Society for the General Advancement of Christianity in the State of Georgia" was the result.⁴

Progress was slow. On the 5th of March, 1825, sundry citizens of the town of Macon in Bibb county agreed to associate themselves as a congregation of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to be known as Christ Church.⁵ The infant Diocese received financial assistance from the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church; and the small congregations kept alive. At the 1835 Convention of the Diocese, application was made by the congregation of Trinity Church, Columbus, for admission.⁶ In Lent, 1837, the Reverend John J. Hunt began to do missionary work at Athens, the seat of the State University; but he was handicapped by the fact that there was no place of public worship for him.⁷ The opening of new fields of activity was evidence that, as the population of the state grew and spread westward, opportunities for the Episcopal Church came to light.

The Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Diocese was held in the parish of Grace Church, Clarksville, Georgia, May 4th-5th, 1840. Five churches were represented—Christ Church, Savannah; St. Paul's, Augusta; Christ Church, Macon; Trinity Church, Columbus; and the church which acted as host for the gathering. Grace Church was still incomplete; according to the report of the clergyman in charge, it was "but little else than a skeleton." The Reverend Ezra B. Kellogg had commenced holding services there, October 28th, 1838; the Methodists and Baptists were already established, and possessed their own buildings, and Mr. Kellogg had been invited to preach in the Methodist church, when that edifice was not otherwise in use. He had held serv-

⁴*Journal 1st Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1823.*

⁵*Journal 3rd Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1825, p. 5.*

⁶*Journal 13th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1835, p. 6.*

⁷*Journal 15th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1837, p. 11.*

ices there three Sundays a month, and had divided the rest of his time between Gainesville and Nacoochee; on Saturday evenings, he gave religious instructions. Thus he built up a church-school. Clarksville numbered only about three Episcopal families, who remained there the whole year, although several others spent the summers in that healthful altitude.⁸

At this Convention, the support of a bishop was brought up and discussed. A committee had been appointed the year before "to take into consideration the establishment of a fund for the support of the Episcopate in the Diocese of Georgia;" and in 1840, the members were able to report that \$1600 had been pledged already by the three parishes of Savannah, Macon, and St. Simon's, as an annual contribution, while the parish at Augusta stood ready to respond "in any amount that shall be awarded by the Convention, as the quota devolving upon her to provide." The rector of Trinity Church, Columbus, signified his parish's "willingness cordially to unite in any effort which might be made for the support of a Bishop, to the extent of their ability." An amended report showed a total pledge of Two Thousand Dollars for the Bishop's support, subscribed as follows:—Christ Church, Savannah, \$1000; St. Paul's, Augusta, \$500; Christ Church, Macon, \$300; Trinity Church, Columbus, \$100; Christ Church, St. Simon's, \$100. A delegate from Christ Church, Savannah, reported that it was expedient that a new parish be promptly formed in Savannah, "as thereby the Bishop elect might be settled in this city, and a larger fund for his support thus obtained, while it is at the same time desirable that there should be no division in this congregation, but that the parish thus formed should be connected with this church, thereby extending but not dividing the church." The vestry of Christ Church, therefore, had resolved that if a bishop be elected, a new parish under the name of St. John's Church should be formed and the rectorship of the same should be tendered to him, "with the express understanding that the Rector of that church, and the Rector of Christ Church, should alternate in the respective churches, and thus the interests of both be united." The Christ Church delegates were authorised to state that they were able to offer the Bishop elect a salary, which with the contributions of other churches would amount to \$3000, should he comply with the above conditions.

The proposition made by Christ Church was accepted; and it was unanimously resolved by the Clarksville Convention, that "whereas, although in the opinion of this Convention, the separation of the Episcopal office from a parochial charge is desirable, yet the Convention does not, under present circumstances, feel authorized to insist upon the separation—and therefore, also, that the Bishop of this Diocese be left

⁸*Journal 17th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1839, pp. 10-12.*

at liberty to accept such temporary parochial charge as the interest of the Church in this Diocese, may for the present require." Proceeding to election, the choice of the Convention was the Reverend Stephen Elliott, Jr., "Professor of the Evidences of Christianity and of Sacred Literature in the College of South Carolina." The election was unanimous.⁹

The first Convention over which the new Bishop presided was held at Christ Church, Macon, May 3rd-4th, 1841. There were nine clergymen, including the Bishop; and five churches were represented by lay delegates. At that time, St. Stephen's Church, Milledgeville, and the new parish of St. John's, Savannah, were formally admitted into the Convention. In his opening address, Bishop Elliott said that he had made his first visitations to the counties upon the sea-coast, beginning with the parish of Christ Church, St. Simon's Island, where he had held services March 14th, 15th, and 16th. There he preached twice to the negroes. "The whole population of this Island is Episcopal, with a single exception, and I was much gratified at the full attendance of the congregation at every service, although my first visit was made at a busy time with the planters." He found the church-edifice in "very excellent repair, and the grounds about it in that order which betokens an interest in its welfare." Accompanied by the Reverend Theodore B. Bartow, he journeyed to Darien, McIntosh county, where he officiated in the Presbyterian church three days. On Sunday night, the Episcopalians of the neighbourhood assembled at the house of Doctor James Troup; and a church was organised, under the title of St. Peter's Church, Darien. Wardens and vestrymen were elected. The Bishop felt that the number of churchmen in Darien was quite sufficient to support a church and afford a liberal salary. From Darien, he went to Glynn county; Bartow was still with him. He expressed his hopes that the members there would erect a church at some point central to Hopeton, Brunswick, and the Buffalo.

Back in Savannah, he consecrated St. John's Church—"a plain but neat edifice, capable of accommodating three hundred persons, well finished, and well furnished with all the requisites of a church." He preached the consecration sermon; and the same afternoon, he confirmed a class of fifteen in Christ Church.

At St. Paul's, Augusta, he had eighteen confirmations. "I found this church in an interesting spiritual state, and trust that the SPIRIT OF GOD will refresh it abundantly."

On the 15th of April, 1841, he was in Milledgeville, the state capital, where he officiated in both the Presbyterian and the Methodist churches. On Sunday afternoon, he preached in the chapel of Oglethorpe University. After services that night, an Episcopal congrega-

⁹*Journal 18th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1840.*

tion was organised under the name of St. Stephen's, with the election of wardens and vestrymen.

April 20th found him in Columbus. There the church was "in an active and rapidly growing condition." He officiated seven times in that place. "Almost free from debt, with a congregation moving together like a band of brothers, with one of the neatest and best ordered churches I have ever seen, in the midst of a rapidly increasing neighbourhood." From Columbus, he travelled to Macon, where he held services three days.

Even at this early date, Bishop Elliott was revolving plans for that adventure in the field of education which was destined to cause him so much anxiety and loss. He told the 1841 Convention that the Reverend Charles Fay, late of Vermont, was employed at Montpelier Springs, Monroe county, in the establishment of an Episcopal church in connection with an Episcopal institution. Through the generosity of G. B. Lamar, Esq., of Savannah, the Diocese was enabled to commence work at Montpelier. Lamar had purchased a beautiful spot known as the Montpelier Springs, and had presented it together with from seven to eight hundred acres of land as a gift to the Trustees of the Diocese. A school had been lately organised there by the election of Mr. and Mrs. Fay as instructors.

At this first Convention, the Bishop made an earnest plea for the religious instruction of the domestic servants and the negroes upon the plantations. "There is no arrangement of worship so well qualified as ours, to meet exactly the wants of our colored population. What they need is *sound religious instruction*. . . . There are very few colored persons of the State of Georgia who have not, within their reach, some kind of religious exercise; but it is, for the most part, a religion of excitement, occupied entirely with the feelings, while they need to be instructed in the first principles of the doctrine of Christ."

Some idea of the strength of the Diocese at the Bishop's coming may be gained from the statistics submitted to the Convention. Christ Church, Savannah, reported 160 communicants; St. Paul's, Augusta, 82; Christ Church, Macon, 55; Trinity Church, Columbus, 47; Christ Church, St. Simon's Island, 14; besides, the missionary at Lexington reported six, and Grace Church, Clarksville, the same number. St. Stephen's, Milledgeville, failed to give its membership.

The Reverend Mr. Fay reported the progress of the work at Montpelier. A temporary place of worship had been fitted up; he hoped that the Diocese would bear in mind this venture, and that it would become the permanent establishment of a Georgia Episcopal Institute. "It must be gratifying that this Diocese is now provided with the means of having their children educated according to the princi-

ples of the Church, in connection with the usual advantages of classical and academical attainments."¹⁰

A few weeks after his first Georgia Convention, Bishop Elliott preached (June 16th) before the Board of Missions, at St. James' Church, Philadelphia. His text was St. Matthew XII., 30: "He that is not with me is against me; and he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad." The sermon was an eloquent plea for missionary zeal.

The 1842 Convention of the Diocese of Georgia was held at Trinity Church, Columbus, beginning May 5th. "The past year," said Bishop Elliott, had been "one of unexampled public depression and pecuniary embarrassment;" at the same time it had proved "one of steady spiritual improvement." It was evident from his address that the Bishop was keenly alert to his opportunity and elated at the signs of progress. After the last Convention, he had gone to Montpelier Springs for the purpose of organising the diocesan schools there and a church in connection with the same. He remained on the spot four days, arranging the details of the property. On the fourth Sunday after Easter, 1841, after confirming seventeen persons in the temporary chapel (fourteen being slaves), a church was organised under the name of St. Luke's Church, Montpelier Springs, Monroe County. From Montpelier he had gone to Forsyth, the county seat, where the Baptists had lent him their house of worship; he found several intelligent Episcopalians in the town. He visited Clarksville, Habersham county; but the church was still too incomplete for consecration.

On May 19th, 1841, the Bishop officiated at Athens, in the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. "It was not deemed advisable to organize a church in Athens upon this visit, as there was no clergyman prepared to take charge of the congregation, but I feel satisfied that there will ultimately be no difficulty in establishing ourselves firmly at this important place." The next four days were spent at Lexington, Oglethorpe county, where several zealous families lived. They will be served once a month, he said, by the minister at Washington. The Reverend John J. Hunt resided at Washington; but beside his family there were only one or two individual churchmen in the town. "In the present condition of our Diocese," the Bishop declared, "it would be most labour to attempt anything in this village."

While on his northern trip, Bishop Elliott visited New York and examined the schools at Flushing, so as to manage the Montpelier Institute more intelligently. He was enthusiastic over the prospects of the enterprise. The schools at Montpelier had flourished beyond his most sanguine expectations, so he told the Convention; and this in spite of obstacles and prejudice. The Bishop planned a stock farm, to be culti-

¹⁰*Journal 19th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1841.*

vated by a slave force owned by the Institute; this farm should pay all the expenses of the school, except the salaries of the instructors. As there would be no charge against the amounts received from tuition save the teachers' stipends, cheap instruction would be available.

The Bishop had visited various places of southeastern Georgia. The name of the parish at Darien had been changed from St. Peter's to St. Andrew's, as the town was situated in the old colonial parish of St. Andrew. The neighbourhood of Glynn county presented an interesting field for missionary work; though thinly settled, there was an immense number of slaves there.

In his Convention address, the Bishop advocated education with much zeal and spirit. He suggested that more schools could be established and supported in the same way that the Montpelier Institute was being made possible; and he advised that these schools be established at a suitable distance apart, and promised that as they increased in number, they would be furnished with the best teachers procurable from Europe or America. Would not the citizens of Georgia support him in this plan?

"It will remain with the citizens of Georgia to determine whether they will educate their children at their own doors, at a diminished expense as compared with a northern education, and upon religious principles, or whether they will still continue to drain the State of its resources and subject their children to the temptations necessarily incident to a residence remote from parental influence, and to the dangers arising from a change of constitution, by a long absence from the climate of the South at the most critical period of life."

Again the Bishop emphasized the white man's responsibility for the uplift and enlightenment of the negro. "It gave me pleasure to perceive upon my late visitation, how generally my suggestions of last year, in relation to the religious instruction of negroes, have been acted upon. At almost every point I found a Sunday school for their benefit in full operation, and, for the most part, well attended, and taught by the most intelligent members of the congregation." He took occasion to urge the clergy to persevere in this work, so as to produce "a body of well instructed coloured communicants in every Episcopal Church;" and called attention to the fact that the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians had been already going ahead with their efforts among the negroes. "While we give honor to whom honor is due; let us imitate their good example and strive to do our duty in connexion with those whom the Lord has committed to our especial keeping. It does not become us as the Church of Christ, whose treasures have always been the poor and the afflicted and the ignorant, to devolve the

slaves whom the Lord has entrusted to us, upon any other teaching than our own."

The Reverend Mr. Fay and his wife reported to the 1842 Convention that there were twenty-eight girls and seven boys enrolled in the schools, and two female assistant teachers beside the clergyman and Mrs. Fay.

"Our great effort has been to educate them thoroughly, as far as they go, in the useful and ornamental branches of knowledge, to elevate their tastes, to refine their manners, and above all, to bring them under those moral and religious influences, which will fit them for happiness here and hereafter."¹¹

In the spring of 1842, Bishop Elliott conducted services in the Presbyterian and Methodist churches of Marietta; and in that town a parish was organised as St. James's. "Nothing could exceed the zeal with which the friends of the Church at that point entered upon the work of erecting a House to the Lord of Hosts." On the 30th of May, the wardens and vestrymen of Milledgeville selected the site of St. Stephen's Church. In the fall (October 10th), Grace Church, Clarks-ville, was at last consecrated—"a very neat wooden building, with tower and bell, prettily located, and an ornament to the village."

Meanwhile there were fine evidences of growth in the southern part of the Diocese. The Bishop baptised twenty-one negroes on St. Simon's Island—five by immersion. On the 25th of January, 1843, he consecrated St. David's Church in Glynn county—"a small but very neat country Church, built by five planters for the accommodation of their families and of such of the neighbourhood as may please to join with them." On the 17th of February, the cornerstone of St. Andrew's Church, Darien, was laid.

Bishop Elliott looked upon Darien as a unique outpost for the evangelisation of the negro. Its location served to place a thousand slaves under the direct pastoral care of the minister, and afforded scope for testing fairly the experiment of the "adaptedness of the Church" to the spiritual wants of the negroes. One-half of the slave-owners on the Savannah, the Altamaha, and the Satilla rivers, and the Sea Islands which skirt the Georgia coast, were Episcopalians; "and it is time they were awake to their responsibility in this matter," remarked the Bishop.

"But it is useless to rouse the Planters to their duty so long as the Ministers of the Church and her Candidates for Orders shut their eyes to the vast work which is here spread out before them. From this city (Savannah) we can look out upon, at least, ten thousand slaves whose masters are, for the most

¹¹*Journal 20th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1842.*

part, willing too *to pay* that they might be instructed—especially anxious that they should have Episcopal instruction; and yet among all that vast multitude there is not heard the voice of a single Episcopal pastor. From the bluff at Darien, there are to be seen plantations containing five thousand slaves, and St. David's is the first Episcopal Church that has offered the glad tidings of great joy to their greedy ears. Lying between these points, and upon the islands to the East, are thousands more, and still no Pastor from their Master's Church tells them of their souls and of their Saviour."

On Palm Sunday, 1843, the Bishop consecrated St. James's Church, Marietta. "This is a very pretty Gothic Church, of rubble masonry, with tower and vestry, and capacious enough to accommodate some hundreds of persons." Marietta had made a record: within ten months of the organisation of the parish, the church had been built, paid for, and tolerably well furnished.

The educational work at Montpelier was moving ahead. By the spring of 1843, a building, known as Lamar Hall, had been fitted out for class-rooms, for the use of the teachers, and for the accommodation of ten pupils as a dormitory. A new school had been erected for the girls. A mile from Lamar Hall, a boys' school had been constructed with quarters for fifty boys, school rooms, music rooms, and apartments for the rector and his family, as well as for the officers of the institution. Montpelier had paid its expenses. "We ask nothing of the Church but its children," said the Bishop. "Fill our schools, and we shall have a clear income of seven thousand dollars over and above all expenses, which will be faithfully disbursed in rendering the Institute still more worthy of the Church's patronage." Bishop Elliott had engaged as teachers Mr. George M. Messiter, Bachelor of Arts of Wadham College, Oxford, as classical and mathematical usher of the boys' school—a man who came with testimonials from Doctor Thomas Arnold of Rugby and the tutors of the University; and a Mr. Berner, a graduate of Leipzig. Surely the Bishop had faith in his vision!¹²

It was in 1843 that the explosion of the "Peacemaker" caused the death of certain eminent persons. Bishop Elliott, aware of the tendencies of this young nation towards boastfulness and self-complacency, preached a splendid sermon, dwelling on the evils of pride, vanity, and absorption in wordly ambitions and pursuits. In the course of his remarks, he said:—

"If there is one sin more than another for which we stand conspicuous as a Nation, it is this sin of speaking exceedingly proudly. There is no limit to our *vain boasting*! If it were the boasting of a Christian people, rejoicing because the God

¹²*Journal 21st Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1843.*

of Israel is their God, because the Redeemer promised to ages and generations is their Saviour, because the laws and the statutes of a Holy God are the provision of their moral code, because all the blessings which Christianity fetches in her train are richly showered upon their heads; it would enter as sweet incense into the presence of the Lord, and crown us and our children with a lasting and beneficial prosperity. But such is not our boasting! It is not in this God of Israel that we put our trust. It is not in this Redeemer that we rest as our strong tower and house of defense. It is not in the lofty morality of Jesus that we look for our success. It is not in the amelioration of Christianity that we triumph and exult. No. Our idols are our political institutions; our oracles are our frail, short-sighted fellow-creatures; our tower of strength is our numbers; our shield is the immensity of our domain, and the vastness of our resources; our rule of life is a tyrannous public opinion.

"In what has our proud boasting of the perfectibility of human nature under free institutions ended? In our being the by-word of the world as repudiators and faithless. In what has our own arrogant talk of the superior acuteness of our people resulted? In covering the land, from the one end to the other, with cunning and roguery. In what has our haughty maintenance of the freedom of opinion terminated? In every man's being afraid of having any opinion of his own; so that virtue and vice, justice and injustice, morality and immorality, stand upon the same platform, and are covered with the same mantle; and that, not a mantle of charity, but of fear."¹³

On the 12th of February, 1844 (the one-hundred-and-eleventh anniversary of the landing of General Oglethorpe) Bishop Elliott was the speaker before the Georgia Historical Society. In his address, he dwelt upon the circumstances attendant upon the founding of Georgia; he spoke of the philanthropic zeal of the great General. Surely an obligation rests upon the present generation. "Should we not march up to that great and noble end in the proper tone of mind and spirit, we should be derelict to the trust which has been committed to us."

"The highest civilization of a land is wrought out when the social, moral and religious elements become universal and harmonize the will of a *free people*. . . . It is this infusion into the mass of high principles, social, intellectual, moral, religious—it is this unity of purpose and of will for lofty ends—that is civilization."¹⁴

The 26th of October was a memorable occasion in the Episcopal Church. On that day, three missionary bishops were consecrated—

¹³*Sermons by the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, pp. 271-272.*

¹⁴Elliott: *A high civilization the moral duty of Georgians* (address before the Georgia Historical Society).

William Jones Boone (1811-1864), first missionary Bishop of China; George Washington Freeman (1789-1858), missionary Bishop of Arkansas, with provisional charge of Texas; and Horatio Southgate (1812-1894), missionary Bishop in the dependencies of the Sultan of Turkey. The consecration sermon was preached by Bishop Elliott, in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia. His keen interest in missions, both foreign and domestic, had made him a conspicuous figure in the Church, even as a young man. "It seems as if God, in His wise Providence, has cast upon England and these United States the conversion of the world," he said. "None other of the civilized nations of the earth are in a condition to take any large part in this glorious enterprise. Some are hindered by position, having but little maritime connection with the rest of the world and lacking the missionary zeal which would lead them to seek it. Others are disabled by the withering blight of rationalism, from doing more than preserving alive upon their own altars the light of Gospel truth. Others, again, are overlaid by superstition and idolatry, and, in their missionary ardor, are disseminating falsehood instead of truth." So an awful responsibility rests upon the Anglican communion.

"As the Lord opens the world before us, and we become more prominently the stewards and dispensers of the mysteries of grace, let us strive and pray that we may be permitted to guard with jealousy his *Holy Ark*, and present her ever to the world, under one unchangeable aspect—CATHOLIC, for every truth of God,—PROTESTANT, against every error of man!"¹⁵

On the second Sunday in July, 1843, Bishop Elliott consecrated St. Michael's Church, Effingham county—a small wooden building, but "very neat." The membership consisted principally of Families from Savannah.

During the year 1843, the Bishop admitted into the Diocese the Reverend Jonathan B. T. Smith, a Virginian, who offered to serve as a missionary among the negroes at a station in Baker county not far from the town of Albany. The spirit shown by this volunteer in a lowly and difficult service received special commendation; the Bishop expressed the hope that the example might "excite others to devote themselves in like manner to the same cause of true missionary benevolence."

Etowah River, Cass county, was visited the same year; and steps were taken towards forming a parish there. Bishop Elliott preached at the Baptist house of worship; and from the response, he determined to start a movement towards the erection of a church, a parsonage, and a

¹⁵Elliott: *Sermon preached in St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1844, p. 15.*

school in that rich farming neighbourhood. In the rising town of Rome, Floyd county, where he had preached in the court house November 12th, 1843, he found that a parish was organised. The services held by him at the Friendship Meeting House, Long's Ferry, Etowah River, rounded out his work in northwest Georgia during 1843.

Emmanuel Church, Athens, was consecrated by Bishop Elliott, November 19th, 1843. "This is a very beautiful edifice, with about four hundred sittings finished and furnished in a most excellent taste. It is surmounted by a very handsome spire and has recently been provided with an organ of fine compass. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the energy and perseverance of the handful of Episcopalians who have raised such a structure to the glory of God and I trust that it will be richly rewarded into their bosoms and the bosoms of their children."

On the 10th of December, 1843, he consecrated St. Stephen's Church, Milledgeville. "The interior of this little church is remarkably beautiful and commands the admiration of all who visit it. It is finished and entirely paid for, and the congregation is prepared to go forward without embarrassment of any kind."

From the 13th of December, 1843, to the 1st of January, Bishop Elliott was engaged in a visitation of Florida, at the request of the Standing Committee of that newly formed Diocese. (Florida had formed itself into a Diocese in 1838; but had no bishop of its own till 1851). Bishop Elliott made the rounds of Tallahassee, Monticello, Quincy, and Apachicola; but he found that the addition of such a large spiritual supervision to his regular duties was a truly appalling prospect. Nevertheless, he declared that it was his duty to visit Florida, lest the churches there would be left without episcopal oversight.

Early in 1844, he visited Albany, and conducted services in the school-house of that village before a very large and attentive congregation. The following night he explained to the local citizens the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church, and organised the parish of St. Paul's, Albany. A subscription of about \$750 was made for erecting a church.

At the 1844 Convention (held at St. Paul's, Augusta, May 2nd), besides reporting his activities during the last twelve months, the bishop made a plea for the Indians as a missionary obligation and responsibility. "Is it not our Christian duty to repay some of these tribes, for their worldly things, to send unto them spiritual things?" The memory of trouble with the Indian tribes was fresh upon the minds of the people of Georgia; feeling was very strong. Always Bishop Elliott stood on the side of justice and human brotherhood.¹⁶

On the 15th of June, 1844, the Bishop visited St. Mary's, Camden

¹⁶*Journal 22nd Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1844.*

county; and preached in the Presbyterian church. On the 18th, he organized a church there, as the Church of the Messiah, and constituted it a missionary station. In April of the following year, he felt suddenly called to assume personal control of the Montpelier Institute. The duties of administering its affairs proved very confining; but there was no way of preserving this valuable property to the Diocese and this excellent school to the state. Because of the difficulty of procuring a suitable headmaster, as well as its too close proximity to the Female Institute, he had been compelled to close the boys' school; though he was convinced of the need of such an institution, and suggested that the same be re-established somewhere northwest of the Chattahoochee River. The Reverend Thomas F. Scott had opened a female institute at Marietta; and two very competent lady teachers had been engaged.¹⁷

Bishop Elliott's direct supervision of the female school rendered it advisable for him to be on the scene; so he removed his residence to Montpelier. June, 1845, was spent in organising the institution. He found that it took on new life during the next year; in point of efficiency, discipline, and instruction it surpassed its former record. The steady support of the Church was essential, however, to its well-being. "Its corp of teachers is the best which I have been able to procure either in this country or in Europe, no pains and no excuse having been spared for that purpose. Its apparatus for Philosophical and Artistical instruction has been purchased from the best mechanics and artists of London and almost every day is adding something to the facilities for improvement offered to our pupils. The place has been very much beautified within the year, and we are now engaged in finishing a fourth building." In the Montpelier project, the Bishop had gone forward single-handed. The Institute had never received from the Church a dollar, he said; hence he felt bold to ask the Church to provide a chapel, to make the establishment complete. There was much need of the same.

During the last year, Bishop Elliott travelled nearly six thousand miles; in addition to his own diocesan ministrations, he made three visits to Florida. On the 22nd of June, 1845, he consecrated the Church of the Ascension, on the Etowah River in Cass county, in the north-western part of the state. The new edifice was beautifully located near the bank of the stream.¹⁸

At the 1847 Convention, held at Christ Church, Savannah, the Church of the Ascension, Etowah Valley, and St. Philip's Church, Atlanta—now a growing town, were admitted into union with the Diocese. The outlook, however, gave some occasion for anxiety; Bishop Elliott

¹⁷*Journal 23rd Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1845.*

¹⁸*Journal 24th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1846.*

noted that some of the churches, which had started out under the most flattering auspices, were in a state of struggle.

“This period of gloom and almost hopelessness every new Parish must encounter and overcome. Upon the first introduction of the Church into any neighbourhood, many motives concur to make it acceptable with the people. Its novelty, the education of its clergy, the desire of having an edifice that may ornament the rising town, the hope of attracting settlers by the introduction of a form of worship most current among the rich and educated of the land, gather around it a number of adherents who are seeking their own and not the things of Jesus Christ. For a time this flatters the hopes and enlarges the expectations of the Missionary and he fancies that his course will be one of rapid and unchanging success. But the scene soon changes, the novelty is past, the worldly objects are obtained, false friends fall away, persecution begins its bitter work and the Pastor and the people are permitted to perceive and understand their real and permanent strength. And now ensues the real struggle—the struggle for faith and of endurance—a struggle which never ends but in one way, if her ministers and members are true to themselves, the complete triumph of the Church.”

Macon and Columbus had suffered reverses. After two or three years of labour, the town of Macon had been utterly prostrated under one of those whirlwinds of religious excitement; all but the really true were swept away. Columbus, deluded by a fictitious prosperity, had built a very expensive church; when the reaction set in, the members were threatened with the sheriff's hammer.

On the Sunday before the annual commencement of the University of Georgia, Bishop Elliott had preached to the graduating class. The young men of the state were turning to their own institution in increasing numbers, and the University was regarded as a stabilising force and a witness for light and learning.

In another part of the state, the Bishop found an encouraging movement. In April, 1847, he visited the mission on the north side of the Great Ogechee River, and found a neat country church erected by the planters of that section, though not ready for consecration. The Reverend William C. Williams was identifying himself with the spiritual condition of the negroes, going in and out among them as their pastor and guide. Commenting on this work, Bishop Elliott said:—

“The impression is that the negroes are averse from the services of our Church. It is a great mistake, except so far as that aversion may have arisen from ignorance and neglect. Let a Clergyman of the Episcopal Church settle anywhere in

the midst of them and make himself comprehended among them, and minister at their sick-beds, and be with them in their moments of temptation and affliction, and prove himself their friend and teacher, and very soon will they welcome him to their hearts with the same true and warm affection with which they now cling to those who now labor among them."

At this Convention, the Reverend John James Hunt reported that he had engaged since November, 1846, in missionary duty at Atlanta and Jonesboro; but that he was prevented from holding services in those places as often as he desired, because of their distance from him and the want of any house specially appropriated to religious purposes. The academy was the only building in Atlanta which could be used; and all denominations shared in it. The number of communicants in both places was small. At Jonesboro, the Methodist church was available.¹⁹

At the Convention held in St. James's Church, Marietta, May 4th, 1848, Zion Church, Talbotton, and the Church of the Messiah, St. Mary's, Georgia, were received into full connection with the Diocese. It was then that Doctor William Bacon Stevens, whose scholarship and eminent standing had given the Episcopal Church so much prestige at the State University and throughout Georgia, gave notice of his removal to Philadelphia. (Doctor Stevens was consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania in 1862). His departure was a distinct loss to the Church; and at a time when the enthusiasm which greeted Bishop Elliott's first labours seemed to be subsiding, Georgia could ill afford to give him up. As an example of the struggles of the little congregations, it was said that at Rome "our little flock has been bandied about from place to place till we have at last taken refuge in the Court House." But a church building had been started at Talbotton, and there the congregations averaged two hundred.²⁰

From small beginnings, the growth of Atlanta was notable. On the 28th of May, 1848, Bishop Elliott consecrated St. Philip's Church there—"a small, but neat Church edifice, erected at moderate cost, but yet quite large enough to accommodate any congregation that may be formed even in that rapidly increasing town for many years to come." The Bishop remarked, that "the policy which has been pursued at Atlanta in erecting a small, but cheap Church, is that which should guide us in carrying forward a weak Diocese, like ours. It is not likely that the Episcopal Church will increase rapidly in any of the towns or villages of a diocese so unaccustomed to its forms or usages, and in many places so prejudiced against its teachings. Our progress must necessarily be slow, and a generation must elapse before we can expect to have even a

¹⁹*Journal 25th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1847.*

²⁰*Journal 26th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1848, p. 20.*

fair hearing before the people. In the meantime that generation must be made acquainted with the Church, must learn that she unites truth of doctrine with all her other recommendations, and that she is not obnoxious to the charges which are so freely lavished upon her." He suggested that from six to eight hundred dollars should suffice for such buildings as were needed, thus avoiding debts on churches and reserving the funds for the support of missionaries. To future generations might be left the task of building the more costly structures.

The Church at Talbotton was used for public worship on Good Friday, 1849, for the first time; it was nearing completion. There were seven candidates for the ministry in the Diocese at the time of the Convention.²¹

In May, 1850, the Bishop laid the cornerstone of a new church in Augusta—the Church of the Atonement. On July 6th, 1850, he consecrated St. Peter's Church, Rome. "This is a very neat building, beautifully located upon one of the hills which overlook the town and accommodating about three hundred persons. It is entirely finished and furnished with a neat fence enclosing the church, and has all been paid for through the liberality of this and the adjoining Diocese of South Carolina." He officiated in Vann's Valley, near Cave Springs, July 10th and 11th of the same year.

Regular Episcopal services were begun in Madison, in November, 1850. The congregation there was composed almost wholly of families and persons who had recently settled in that town, as those old-time residents who had once been churchmen had been lost for want of their own ministrations. The Madison congregation used the Town Hall, for which a rent of fifty dollars was charged. The missionary, the Reverend B. Elliott Habersham, supplemented his stipend by teaching in the local Male Academy; once a month he visited Union Point for services.

The negro mission on the Ogeechee River was growing. Nearly every planter on the northeast side of the Great Ogeechee had placed his slaves under the care of the missionary. "If I am not very much deceived in my expectations," said Bishop Elliott, "the time will soon come when these people will flock as doves to our windows, and the missionary will reap a full harvest in answer to his prayers and labors."

The parish of St. Paul, Albany, had become extinct; the Bishop undertook to reorganise it. He expressed the hope that a church edifice would soon rise there.

He had visited several plantations in different parts of Georgia, and had baptised the slaves. On the estate of Major Thomas M. Nelson, of Columbus, he found all the servants gathered for his coming and the

²¹*Journal 27th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1849, pp. 9ff.*

children awaiting baptism. Eighteen negro children were baptised, with Major and Mrs. Nelson acting as sponsors along with the parents.

At the 1851 Convention (Trinity Church, Columbus, May 8th), where report was made of the signs of progress, in Augusta, Rome, Madison, and among the negroes, there were three new churches admitted into communion with the Diocese—the Atonement, Augusta; the Church of the Advent, Madison; and St. Paul's, Augusta. But it must have been with a heavy heart that the Bishop recounted the loss of his darling project, the female academy at Montpelier. "In consequence of the very heavy debt and claims upon the Montpelier Institute and the unavoidable accumulations upon that debt and these claims, the affairs of the Institute were brought to a close during the autumn of the last year, and the whole property was sold at sheriff's sale." Mr. Joseph Story Fay, of Savannah, bought it at \$13,000. Bishop Elliott and the Trustees felt that it should be redeemed. Through the liberality of the churches of Savannah, Columbus, and Macon, the amount of the money for its re-purchase was made up; and Mr. Fay agreed to accept the amount paid at the sale. The interest accrued—some four or five hundred dollars—he readily waived. Once more the property was secure to the Diocese; but the Bishop had learned that whole-hearted support and patronage could not be assured. He begged the Church to lend its co-operation; and promised that nothing would be left undone on his part, to make Montpelier a school fit for the education of the children of refined and Christian parents. The delegates assembled at the Convention recorded their resolution that Montpelier Institute was in their opinion "an important and efficient ancillary in planting and sustaining of the Church in Georgia, and as such should be liberally and constantly supported."²²

Bishop Elliott visited Madison, June 1st, 1851, and confirmed two persons. The congregation still used a temporary place of worship, but had collected funds to start a church-building. July 6th, 1851, he visited Atlanta; the communicants there numbered fifteen. The outlook was promising. In addition to the church, there was a comfortable parsonage and there was a small school-house. The same month, he attended a convention held in Marietta, for the purpose of considering the best means of diffusing through the state of Georgia the blessings of education. Although this convention adjourned without any practical results, the Bishop felt that it should produce great advantages to the state. Episcopalians should especially try to combat ignorance, he said; their service is liturgical, and a want of letters is almost a bar to any connection with the Church. "Every clergyman and layman should therefore strive to remove that ignorance, the fruitful parent of preju-

²²*Journal 29th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1851.*

dice and suspicion, and to enable every individual to feel that the prayer book does not stand as a dark mystery between him and the Church of Christ." The missionary in charge of the Church of the Ascension, on the Etowah River, had moved to Calhoun, where he also planned to officiate.

The Bishop ordained Mr. Sherod W. Kennerly, formerly a Methodist minister, on November 9th, 1851. The Reverend Mr. Kennerly, as a deacon, decided to devote himself entirely to the negroes upon the plantations on the Savannah River, adjoining the city of Savannah. "The planters have freely opened their plantations to his instruction, and have made arrangements for his proper support." On the 29th of January, 1852, the beautiful Church of the Atonement, Augusta—finally completed—was consecrated.

Bishop Elliott visited Albany and the plantations in the surrounding country about that time. He confirmed as many as twenty-two negroes on one plantation; ten negroes on another; eight on still another; then two more—forty-four confirmations among the slaves of a single parish. In this response he recognised "a deliberate withdrawal from the miserable system under which they had been living, and a voluntary transfer of their allegiance to the Church." The confirmations had been performed "not hastily, nor unadvisedly, but after several years of faithful instruction and earnest teaching." The negroes seize upon the services of the Church "with avidity as soon as anybody will take the pains to win their confidence and enlighten their ignorance," the Bishop declared; "but it would be worse than useless to waste one's time in dealing with them, except upon the determination of devoting one's self to their instruction." The wardens and vestry of St. Paul's, Albany, had contracted for a church, to cost \$4,000.

On the 2nd of May, 1852, Bishop Elliott consecrated the new edifice of Christ Church, Macon, which replaced the original building. The cost was about \$15,000; the Church was large and capacious. Of that sum, the ladies raised \$2,315 by selling their own needlework; the young men of the parish raised a large part of the money for furnishing the building; and one young man gave a Sunday-school library of a hundred volumes. "The children of the congregation have been catechised monthly, and have made their usual contribution to education in the mission school in Africa."

A philanthropic enterprise was reported to the 1852 Convention, on the part of St. Paul's Church, Augusta. That parish had begun a movement for "a Church Widows' and Orphans' Asylum;" a house for the same had been purchased, for nine hundred dollars.²³

In December, 1852, Bishop Elliott resigned his position at Mont-

²³*Journal 30th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1852.*

pelier; he felt that the institute no longer needed his presence, so he placed the school in charge of an experienced lady, Miss M. M. Buell, and invited the Reverend Rufus M. White, formerly of St. John's Church, Savannah, to accept the rectorship of the Institute. The Reverend Seneca G. Bragg continued there. The Bishop begged the Diocese, in his address before the 1853 Convention, to use every exertion not to permit an Institute to go down, which had been built up at the expense of so much sacrifice and suffering.

After leaving Montpelier, Bishop Elliott assumed charge of Christ Church, Savannah. A woman of that city, Mrs. Dorothea Abrahams (who died in February, 1853), left a legacy of a thousand dollars, for the erection of a free Episcopal Church for the poor and the stranger in Savannah. This gift was augmented by subscription; and a lot was purchased for the church on the corner of Broad and Robert street.

The Bishop consecrated Zion Church, Talbotton, April 28th, 1853. This "very pretty house of worship" had been erected through the indefatigable exertions of the Reverend Richard Johnson, who had spent several years in collecting the necessary funds and putting up the building.

Progress was evident among the coloured people. In the Savannah River mission, which embraced seven large plantations, the Rev. Sherod W. Kennerly reported 125 baptisms during the year, 69 negro confirmed persons, and two hundred children connected with the Sunday-school. The Reverend William C. Williams, of the Ogeechee mission, could enumerate 45 baptisms, 43 confirmed persons, and ninety communicants; likewise, two hundred negro pupils in the mission school. "The night of prejudice has passed away," said Mr. Williams; "and, with the continuance of God's blessing, the Church will reap an abundant harvest."²⁴

The Bishop consecrated St. John's Church, Savannah, on the 7th of May, 1853. This "new and beautiful church edifice" represented the old parish of St. John's, but stood upon a new site. On the 7th of August, 1853, the Church of the Advent, at Madison, was consecrated—"a very neat, though small church edifice." On the 12th of August (five days later), the Bishop consecrated the Church of the Good Shepherd, Cave Springs, "a very beautiful little church. . . . It has been erected through the energy of a single family, and will be very useful so soon as we shall be able to get a minister there, who shall be able to devote his whole time to its services." The next day, fifteen persons were confirmed at St. Peter's, Rome. "It gives me pleasure to state at every point which I have visited during the past year there is a visible and steady growth of the Church." The Montpelier Institute was

²⁴*Journal 31st Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1853.*

flourishing after its period of depression. Doctor Ralph E. Elliott, of Savannah, had left a thousand dollars in trust to the Bishop, as the foundation of a fund, the income to be used for the support of the widows and orphans of the deceased clergymen. The trust was to accumulate at compound interest for ten years before being used.²⁵

Savannah was at that time a city of over twenty thousand; the Reverend Thompson L. Smith had entered on his duties as city missionary there, November 15th, 1852. It was designed that he "might minister to the poor, the afflicted and the unfortunate, who had not been gathered into any fold; and besides, to look after the spiritual wants of strangers and adventurers." He might extend his care to the dying in the hospital, and visit the prisoners. A salary for his support was soon raised.²⁶

White's *Historical Collections*, published in 1854, contained a notice of the Georgia Episcopal Institute. Located at Montpelier, Monroe county, about seventeen miles from Macon, fourteen miles from Forsyth, and six from the Macon & Western Railroad, "its advantages are not surpassed by those of any school in the United States. Until the property was purchased by Mr. Lamar"—George B. Lamar, formerly of Savannah—"it was a favourite resort for invalids, who were attracted by its medicinal springs, healthful climate, and delightful temperature. Its natural beauties, which are rarely equalled, have been improved with the finest taste. The visitor needs only to see its extensive lawn, majestic groves, shady walks, beautiful gardens, and spacious buildings, to be in love with the spot. The course of instruction is thorough and complete, embracing every item that can contribute to fit a lady for the first station in society. Its teachers are persons of high character and first-rate abilities. It may be truly said that in this school true religion, useful learning, and polished refinement, are inseparably united."²⁷

Hanckel tells us how Bishop Elliott, in the early days of his episcopal administration, sacrificed his private fortune and reduced himself to poverty and want in his uncalculating efforts to establish an eminent school for female education in the centre of his Diocese. He had a high estimate of the blessings of a thorough education, and was by nature enthusiastic; hence he founded the school at Montpelier, for the instruction of the young women of the Diocese in those accomplishments which a Christian woman of position and refinement should possess. Large sums had to be spent in erecting the buildings and obtaining the necessary equipment; the Bishop would have everything up to the best standard. When the funds at his disposal were exhausted, he pledged his private property and credit for completing the undertaking. The obli-

²⁵*Journal 32nd Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1854.*

²⁶*Journal 31st Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1853.*

²⁷*White: Historical Collections, Georgia, pp. 562-563.*

gations were fully met; but he was left without a dollar. In fact, he had scarcely the means of providing for his family. "He had been accustomed from early youth to the refinement, independence and dignity of an ample fortune. He had never known what it was to owe what he could not punctually pay. The cares, anxieties and heavy burdens therefore of this period of his life were keenly felt, and his spirit was deeply wounded. But he met them all with the firmness, patience, gentleness, and humility of one who had counted the cost of his holy service."²⁸

On the 24th of April, 1855, Bishop Elliott confirmed twenty-six negroes in the chapel on the plantation of the late Arthur Heygood, in the Ogeechee mission. "It offered me another striking proof of the adaptedness of the Church to these persons, when enforced by a perseverance which will not grow weary, and a faith which will not falter, in the missionary who labors among them. Ten years had elapsed since Mr. Williams"—the Reverend William C. Williams—"had entered upon this work, and although he had passed many weary and seemingly fruitless hours, he was now blessed in seeing them flock as doves to their windows and in finding himself surrounded by an attached and grateful flock, who were growing in grace and in the knowledge of the Lord."

Considerable progress had been made by this time in the parish of St. James, Marietta; that congregation afforded an example of "encouragement for all those clergymen of the Church . . . who may be striving to build up the Church in difficult places. Founded about twelve years since, in a town emerging just from the woods, it has already attained a standing which places it among the leading congregations of the Diocese. And during these years, it was, at one time, from emigration reduced to one single communicant outside the Rector's household. Had it been then abandoned, we should, probably, have been obliged to struggle for years to regain our position. But perseverance has overcome all difficulties." St. James's numbered seventy communicants in 1855.

"We cannot expect, as a Church, to make any very rapid growth in any part of the Southern States. So long did it lie neglected after the revolution—so much like a stepmother did the Church treat her children, that in all the newly settled portions of the Southern States, she was as much ignored as if she had been driven out with the monarchy. Even in South Carolina, one of the strongest of all the colonial Churches, it has been, and still is, a work of exceeding difficulty, to build up the Church in its Western districts; and I can remember, after I became a man, when there was no Episcopal church in that State above Columbia. It is only by long and steady devotion, by an earnest and prayerful perseverance that we can recover

²⁸*Sermons by the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, p. xi.*

the ground we have lost, and re-establish our liturgical services and pastoral system and Episcopal supervision. One generation, at least, must pass away, ere we can become a Church, running an equal race with the forms of worship which prevail around us. We must plant Churches and sustain Ministers wherever we can, so as to cover as large a field as our limited resources will admit. We must raise up Ministers of the Gospel from the soil, and thus interest local circles in the ministry; and above all must preach the gospel faithfully and earnestly and we need not trouble for the consequences."²⁹

St. Paul's Church, Albany, was consecrated by Bishop Elliott on the 16th of May, 1855; the building was capable of seating about two hundred and fifty persons, and was "very completely finished." Eight days later, the Bishop visited Americus and held a baptism; he felt that a mission could be established there successfully.

On the 10th of February, 1856, the largest confirmation ever held in the Diocese up to that time took place in the Ogeechee mission. 148 candidates, all of the negro race, were presented—"most of whom were young people, that had been trained under the direct supervision of the Missionary, and were well instructed in the services of the Church and the duties of the Christian." On that occasion, the Bishop consecrated "a very comfortable Church, under the title of St. James' Church, Great Ogeechee."

"The longer I observe the workings of this Mission, the better am I satisfied that we could get under our control, and bless with our instructions almost the whole slave population of the Seacoast, if the Masters would only do their duty, and if Ministers could be found who would devote themselves to this work. And I feel the more anxious upon this subject, because I am more and more confirmed in my opinion that the negroes need more instruction than they can receive from any itinerancy, and that the settled pastoral system of the Church, together with its Liturgical forms, is the best suited to their spiritual condition. It is manifest before our eyes all over our Diocese, of how little avail is declamatory teaching, accompanied by temporary excitement, unless there shall have been a long previous course of instruction in the doctrines of the gospel. We must first teach men what the truth is, before we can effectually urge them to embrace it. Exhortation is to succeed, or, at the utmost, accompany instruction, otherwise it excites the feelings, without changing either the will, or the life."

The Bishop complained that, while fully two-thirds of the slave-owners of Georgia's seaboard were nominal Episcopalians, only two missions existed along the whole coast of the state. He asked the reason why. It was not because the masters take no interest in the negroes' spiritual welfare, he averred; or that they were unwilling to

²⁹*Journal 33rd Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1855.*

expend the money. "The main reason is, because the Masters will continue, in spite of all the evidence from North and South Carolina, and now from the indubitable success of Mr. (the Reverend William C.) Williams, stubbornly of the opinion, that the services of the Episcopal Church are not suited to the negroes, and that they can not be made to give in their adhesion to it. . . . But only let the Masters take firm ground upon this subject; let them combine and secure an Episcopal Minister, who shall be devoted to the sole care of their negroes, and I will warrant you, that if he be a Minister of a right spirit, ten years shall not have elapsed, before he will be well beloved among them, the pastor of their affections, as well as of their choice." Bishop Elliott urged the young ministers to consider this work among the negroes, as "one of the noblest and most Christian which can now engage their peaceful consideration. It is Africa at home—it is missionary work, demanding quite as much self-denial, self-discipline, and self-sacrifice, as any they may undertake abroad."

In December, 1855, it was decided at a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Montpelier Institute to close the school. The experiment had been fairly made, since 1850, to carry it on under the best auspices. No such response or patronage had resulted, as to warrant its continuance; a noble enterprise had failed. Bishop Elliott had witnessed the doom of a cherished project and had experienced great personal loss. "Possessing no endowment," he said, "it required an unfailing number of pupils to pay its current expenses, and those pupils could not be regularly counted upon; any epidemic that might pervade the country, any change in the superintendence of the school, any idle report that might get abroad respecting its management, subjected us to a loss of pupils, and consequently to the hazard of incurring a debt, for which there was no recourse but the purse of the Church."

"So long as we are in the flesh, we must be sharers in the good and evil of the world, and every revolving year will make its impress upon us as a Diocese, as surely as it does upon us as individuals. . . . When schemes in which we have taken deep interest are permitted to fail—when friends whom we have loved and counselled with are removed by death—when clergymen who have borne with us the heat and burthen of the day, have been carried off to other spheres, we cannot but feel sad, however rich may have been the compensation which a loving Father has provided for us. But still, these are only the Changes which advancing life forces us to witness, and which are unfelt by those who are rising to take our places, with the energy of youth and of hope. . . . Our consolation is that we are advancing, however slowly, and that a retrospect of a few years will satisfy us that we have much cause for gratitude and encouragement, in the midst of our sorest disappointments."

Bishop Elliott consecrated St. Andrew's Church, Darien, on the 29th of March, 1856. The Church was finished, and all its debts paid.³⁰

The Savannah River mission, which was commenced in January, 1856, in connection with the plantations on the river and limited itself to the negroes of Savannah, showed promise from the start. Its place of worship, St. Stephen's Chapel, was sustained by the two parishes of the city—St. John's and Christ Church; and in 1857, there were 125 pupils in the Sunday-school. For sometime preceding the 1857 Convention, Bishop Elliott had been in poor health, and he had spent two months in Cuba recuperating. Still he had found time to conduct services in Tennessee, in addition to his regular duties.³¹

We now come to the steps which led to the founding of the University of the South. On the 4th of July, 1857, Bishop Elliott attended a meeting of bishops, clergy, and laity, convened at Lookout Mountain, Tennessee, for the purpose of organising a southern university. Delegates were present from North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. The meeting was opened with religious exercises; and there followed an oration by the Right Reverend James Hervey Otey (1800-1863), Bishop of Tennessee, explaining the project. A second meeting was held in November. The Right Reverend Leonidas Polk (1806-1864), Bishop of Louisiana, was a guiding spirit in the movement.

In his address to the 1858 Convention of the Diocese of Georgia, Bishop Elliott explained the purpose of the proposed institution. The northern and northwestern dioceses of the Episcopal Church were already provided with literary and theological institutions of a high character, he said; Missouri, Kentucky, and Virginia likewise possessed church colleges and theological seminaries, either established or promised. South of those states, all attempts to found an Episcopal college had failed, because the Church in no single diocese was strong enough to furnish the proper endowment or ample patronage. Even if such colleges had continued to live, they would have produced no lasting benefit to the Church, and they would have had only a precarious existence.

"Observing this condition of things, the happy idea struck the Bishop of Louisiana that the Dioceses, thus situated, might do by combination what they could not effect alone, that they might by an union of the wealth and intelligence which belongs to the Church from Virginia to Texas, build up an University, which should not only place the Episcopal Church in its true position before the country, but elevate the standing of scholarship throughout the South. It was a felicitous idea, and with that noble energy and practical power which characterize the

³⁰*Journal, 34th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1856.*

³¹*Journal, 35th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1857.*

man, he took immediate steps to infuse his own enthusiasm into his brethren of the Episcopal Bench, and secure their cooperation in embodying the conception which stirred within his own mind. This he did with singular effect, and a complete union, upon the very best principles, has been effected among the Dioceses, including the whole Episcopal Church south of Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. This union secures undoubted success, for within these limits the Episcopal Church contains a mass of intelligence, scholarship, refinement and wealth of which itself is scarcely aware—a mass, which if properly aroused, can give us an University, that shall leave us nothing to desire in the way of education for our sons—that shall revive that ancient scholarship which our fathers brought from Eton and Westminster, from Oxford and Cambridge, and which is fast dying out under the collegiate system of the present day.

“The Bishops of the Church who have inaugurated this movement think that they see before the Southern States a condition of things which makes this movement imperatively necessary if we would secure for our sons anything like a sound and finished education within our borders.”

At the November meeting which he attended, it was decided to locate the University “upon the plateau of the Cumberland Mountains at a point called Sewanee. In settling this question we kept in view the objects which we had before us in establishing this University. We desired to make it not only the training school for our sons, but a social and literary centre for the South—a point at which the refined and intellectual people of our ten dioceses might assemble annually, and create an influence most beneficial not only to the students, but to the whole South. To bring this about, there must be added to the attractions of a parent’s love, the additional ones of exquisite scenery and a delicious climate. And no where in the whole South are these requisites more perfectly combined than upon the Cumberland plateau.”³²

From January 13th to March 15th, 1859, Bishop Elliott was absent from his Diocese, seeking to procure an endowment for the University of the South. He and Bishop Polk canvassed the different dioceses, and addressed various groups. New Orleans was made the centre of the enterprise. Subscriptions amounting to more than a quarter of a million dollars were raised, and there was much enthusiasm.

In his address to the diocesan Convention, June 1st, 1859, Bishop Elliott noted that “the Church is advancing steadily within the Diocese.”

“Our Diocese is one of those which gains nothing by immigration, and we have always followed the independent course of building up our Church by our own means. Every inch of

³²*Journal, 36th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1858.*

ground which has been gained, has been valiantly fought for. We have been of the militant, but never of the mendicant Church. With the exception of some drafts upon the liberality of South Carolina, we have done everything which has been done from our own resources."

On the 19th of May, 1858, he had officiated in the Methodist church at Griffin; after the service, he had organised the parish of St. George's, Griffin. St. Paul's Free Chapel, Savannah, was consecrated by him, May 26th, 1859—"one of the most beautiful churches in the Diocese," containing about three hundred sittings, all free.³³

In a sermon preached that year, the Bishop commented on the materialistic viewpoint of the age and the encroachments of business upon all of a man's thoughts and energies. He said:—

"During the week,—the busy, restless, excited week,—religion and the soul can find no place; and on the Sunday, even when the worn out body does not cry, with nature's cry, for rest and sleep, (the man of business) brings to the sanctuary of God a heart either unable to cast off its care, or else tired out with its tumultuous pulsations, and careless of everything save the reaction of quiet. It makes religion almost an unheeded topic; and the minister of Christ feels that he is pleading for men's souls either to a host engaged in the deadly strife of battle, face to face, and hand to hand; or else to that same host when, wearied and exhausted, it has no power left to fight, and is reposing only that it may recruit its strength for the morrow's strife!"

The tendency of the age was visible in the Church.

"We are fast coming to a sort of compact between the Church and men of business, that if the one will support the other, will give money freely for religious objects, the Church will keep their consciences and take care of their souls. Men seem ready to do everything and anything for Christianity, except to give it their thoughts and time."³⁴

From December 15th, 1859 to March 1st, 1860, Bishop Elliott was engaged with Bishop Polk in matters connected with the establishment of the University. Much of that time was spent in preparing and submitting to the Board of Trustees the plan of the inner life of the University. At the diocesan Convention, held at Christ Church, Savannah, May 10th, 1860, the Bishop reported that he had spent a busy year, with visitations, confirmations, and the adjusting of a difference between the rector

³³*Journal, 37 Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1859.*

³⁴*Sermons by the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, pp. 118-119, 123.*

of St. Philip's, Atlanta, and the vestry. "Thus has ended one of the most laborious years I have ever spent, during which I have not been in my own home three months in all, and at the close of it, I can say that I have never seen such signs and tokens of prosperity as during these visitations. They are visible in the increased spirit and earnestness of our ministers, in the growing and large hearted liberality of our laity, in the steady influx of the very best people of the State into the Church, in the increased anxiety for our services, and in the demand for ministers everywhere exhibited."³⁵

On the 10th of October, 1860, Bishop Elliott assisted, in the presence of a large assembly of bishops, clergymen, and laymen, in the laying of the cornerstone of the main building of the University of the South. The work was halted, however, because of the confusion of public affairs and the divisions of the dioceses; and the development of a southern university, launched on the tide of enthusiasm, was hindered by those unhappy differences which produced the War Between the States. In that unfortunate conflict, Bishop Elliott shared in the labours of a thousand others who suffered, bled, and died. "He placed his Church by the side of the State. He cheered and comforted his suffering, bleeding, fainting people with words of the deepest pathos and tenderness. He sent his sons to the battle, with his pure kiss on their brows and a father's blessing in their hearts. And when all was over—and all in vain—and the cause was lost, he bowed his head without a murmur to the will of his God, and turned to the new duties which lay before him with the hope and energy of an unflinching faith, and the calm dignity of an unconquered heart."³⁶

Bishop Elliott joined with Bishop Polk in an address to the senior bishop of the seceding states, March 23rd, 1861, and recommended a meeting to determine their ecclesiastical relations with the dioceses from which their jurisdiction had been separated. "We have no quarrel with the divine organisation of the Church," said Bishop Elliott to his own Convention; "none with its faith, none with its worship, none with its discipline. But we must adjust anew our ecclesiastical relations. They have been disturbed if not destroyed by the disruption of the Union, and we should see to it at once, that nothing is done to compromise our own position or that of the Confederate States." The letter issued from University Place, Franklin County, Tennessee, March 23rd, and signed by Leonidas Polk and Stephen Elliott, contained the following language:—

"The rapid march of events, and the change which has taken place in our civil relations, seems to us, your brethren in

³⁵*Journal, 38th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1860.*

³⁶*Sermons by the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, p. xii.*

the Episcopate, to require an early consultation among the Dioceses of the Confederate States, for the purpose of considering their relations to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, of which they have so long been the equal and happy members.

"This necessity does not arise out of any dissension which has occurred within the Church itself, nor out of any dissatisfaction with either the doctrine or the discipline of the Church. We rejoice to record the fact that we are to-day, as Churchmen, as truly brethren as we have ever been, and that no deed has been done, nor word uttered which leaves a single wound rankling in our hearts. We are still one in faith, in purpose, and in hope. But political changes, forced upon us by a stern necessity, have occurred, which have placed our Diocese in a position requiring consultation as to our future Ecclesiastical relations. It is better that those relations should be arranged by the common consent of all the Dioceses within the Confederate States, than by the independent action of each Diocese. The one will probably lead to harmonious action, the other might produce inconvenient diversity.

"We propose to you, therefore, Rt. Rev. and Dear Brother, that you recommend to your Diocesan Convention, the appointment of three Clerical and three Lay Deputies, who, together with the Bishop of the Diocese shall be Delegates to meet an equal number of Delegates from each of the Dioceses within the Confederate States, at Montgomery, in the Diocese of Alabama, on the 3d day of July next, to consult upon such matters as may have arisen out of the change in our civil affairs.

"We have taken upon ourselves to address you this Circular because we happen to be together and are the senior Bishops of the Dioceses within the Confederate States."³⁷

That Bishop Elliott realised the seriousness of the struggle between the states was evident in his address before the 39th Annual Convention of the Diocese of Georgia, held at Macon, May 9th, 1861.

"We meet, to-day, under circumstances very unlike any which have ever surrounded us since our connection as Bishop and people. Hitherto we have assembled as an Ecclesiastical Council, with no cares resting upon our hearts save those which concerned the Church of Christ. To-day we feel most painfully, in addition to these, the sorrow which arises from the severed ties of friendship and of country. Hitherto peace has ever smiled upon our meetings with her bright face of prosperity and security. To-day the whole land is resounding with the preparation for war—war with those who, until a few months since, were our countrymen and our brethren. Hitherto our Church has moved undisturbed through all the storms

³⁷Elliott: *Address to 39th Convention, Diocese of Georgia*, pp. 10-11.

which have agitated the civil State. To-day a stern necessity is laid upon us to examine relations which we fondly hoped would be indestructible."

It is well to survey the Diocese of Georgia at the outset of the War, before the land was subjected to invasion and levy, before the man-power had been called into active service, before the country was impoverished and its resources reduced. The reports made to the 1861 Convention show the following facts:—

- a. Christ Church, Savannah—300 communicants—136 members of the Sunday-school. Donations to foreign missions, \$1,190; to diocesan missions, \$1,101.94; to domestic missions, \$260. Bishop Elliott was rector, but had an assistant minister.
- b. St. Paul's, Augusta—175 communicants—110 members of the Sunday-school.
- c. Christ Church, St. Simon's—44 communicants.
- d. Christ Church, Macon—127 communicants—169 members of the Sunday-school. This parish had recently instituted a church-home, with a matron or nurse to receive and take care of the sick and destitute, and receive orphan children. The matron "also visits the poor and afflicted, reporting them to the Pastor. She has gathered over twenty women, who meet once a week at the Home for instruction in needle and domestic work, and for religious teaching." The home maintains a free night school, sustained by three or four young men.
- e. Trinity Church, Columbus—163 communicants—167 members of the Sunday-school.
- f. St. John's, Savannah—181 communicants—97 members of the Sunday-school.
- g. St. Stephen's, Milledgeville—24 communicants.
- h. St. Andrew's, Darien—72 communicants.
- i. St. David's Church, Glynn county—8 communicants.
- j. St. James's, Marietta—82 communicants—109 members of the Sunday-school (including 30 negroes).
- k. Emmanuel Church, Athens—72 communicants—84 members of the Sunday-school.
 1. St. Peter's, Rome—60 communicants—40 members of the Sunday-school.
- m. St. Philip's, Atlanta—70 communicants—69 members of the Sunday-school.
- n. Zion Church, Talbotton—10 communicants.
- o. Church of the Advent, Madison—15 communicants—27 members of the Sunday-school (including 10 negroes).
- p. St. Paul's, Albany—72 communicants—70 members of the Sunday-school (including 36 negroes).
- q. Church of the Atonement, Augusta—46 communicants—89 members of the Sunday-school.

- r. Church of the Messiah, St. Mary's—25 communicants.
- s. Church of the Ascension, Cass county—4 communicants.
- t. Church of the Good Shepherd, Cave Springs—5 communicants.
- u. Ogeechee Mission—357 communicants—340 members of the Sunday-school (negroes).
- v. St. Stephen's, Savannah—78 communicants—60 members of the Sunday-school (negroes). The church building was at last finished. "The erection of our Church has been in deed and in truth a work of faith."
- w. St. Paul's Free Church, Savannah—39 communicants.
- x. St. Mark's, Brunswick—17 communicants.
- y. St. George's, Griffin—9 communicants.
- z. Grace Church, Gainesville—14 communicants.

During the year, there had been in the Diocese, 358 baptisms, 157 confirmations, 102 marriages, 134 burials; and there were 2,083 communicants listed, as well as 175 Sunday-school teachers and 1,743 pupils. The communion alms had amounted to \$2,252.85. There had been contributed to diocesan missions, \$2,142.62; to domestic missions, \$537.73; and to foreign missions, \$1,507.71. To other Church or charitable objects, \$15,550.58 had been donated.³⁸

Bishop Elliott felt that his duty was to remain with his Diocese. In his address to the 1861 Convention, he said:—

"The animus of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, therefore, clearly is, that the Bishop shall go with his jurisdiction. He is a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, not because he is a Bishop of the Church Catholic, but because he is the Bishop of Maine, or of New York, or of New Jersey, as the case may be. When the jurisdiction therefore of a Bishop declares itself, in the exercise of its rightful sovereignty to be thenceforth and forever separated from the other jurisdictions which make up the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, it forces him necessarily into a like separation."³⁹

A day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer, appointed by the President of the Confederate States, was observed on the 28th of February, 1862. On that occasion, Bishop Elliott said, in a sermon preached in Christ Church, Savannah:—

"It may be that the bloody war in which we are engaged is necessary for our purification. War is a fearful scourge, as God's word plainly tells us; but it may sanctify as well as chasten, it may purge out our old dross, even though it be through the fires of affliction. . . . Had our separation been a

³⁸*Journal, 39th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1861.*

³⁹*Elliott: Address to 39th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, p. 7.*

peaceful one, we should have gone on as before, trusting in what are called the principles of American independence, expecting to find permanent prosperity under the old popular doctrines of the land. Our people had great faith in the form which freedom assumed in this land, because they attributed to it the unexampled physical prosperity which encompassed them. . . . (This war) will stir up all the energies of the people, which were stagnating under the effects of indolence and isolation. . . . And this people, thrown upon its own resources, will develop them by their own industry, and mingling through commerce with the world, will learn the value of virtues which they have hitherto permitted to slumber, will open their minds to perceive that other nations may teach them lessons not only of literature and science, but of freedom and government.”⁴⁰

From July 3rd to July 6th, 1861, Bishop Elliott had been in attendance upon the Council held at Montgomery, Alabama, by the representatives of the Diocese of the seceding states. It was decided to form a distinct ecclesiastical organisation. From October 16th to October 24th, another session was held, at which the Constitution and Canons of the Church in the Confederate States were adopted for ratification by the several dioceses.

On the 6th of March, 1862, the consecration of Richard Hooker Wilmer (1816-1900) took place. Bishop William Meade of Virginia, Bishop John Johns, and Bishop Elliott were the consecrators. The venerable Bishop of Virginia was too feeble to do more than pronounce the words of consecration. In the words of Bishop Elliott, “it was the last act of his life—his long and devoted life. He returned to his home from the Church, never to leave it again. In a week from the day upon which I bid him farewell, he was taken to his rest in the bosom of God.”

In the Bishop’s address to the Fortieth Convention of the Diocese of Georgia, there were several references to the War. The Diocese was much disrupted; clergyman were entering the service, and the work in several localities had been abandoned because of the shortage of men. The splendid activities among the negroes at Ogeechee was being upset by the inroads of the Federal forces. “What a miserable philanthropy it is, and how blinded to its own results, which can interfere with such a work as this, and think that it is doing God’s service,” exclaimed Bishop Elliott. “It makes us ashamed of ourselves as human creatures, when we perceive how prejudice and theory, and false speculation can lead us blindfold, as it does to the destruction of the sublimest work which can be done on earth, the bringing an ignorant and barbarous race into light and charity.” There were examples of the refusal to retrench. In June, 1861, for example, Mrs. Edward E. Ford, wife of the rector of St. Paul’s, Augusta, started a church school for young ladies, at Wood-

⁴⁰Elliott: “*New wine not to be put into old bottles,*” pp. 17-18.

stock, Floyd county, near Cave Springs. Her husband, incapacitated for parish duties, acted as domestic chaplain.

The 1862 Convention met in Atlanta—a town destined to feel the ravages of warfare. The Bishop's address began as follows:—

“Amid the tumult and confusion of war, with the din of battle all around us, knowing not what a day may bring forth, we meet together as the ambassadors of the Prince of Peace, and as the representatives of a kingdom which is not of this world. That which was only anticipated at our last meeting, has become stern reality, and the conflict of opinion, which had then dissevered the Union, has increased in intensity, and has dipped its foot in blood. Civil war—the most cruel of all wars—has already become familiar to us, and is leaving in its track hatred and mourning and desolation. Fighting, as we are, in absolute defence of our rights, our homes, and our freedom of thought and action, we have nothing to do but to struggle and bear, and if needs be, die upon our thresholds and before our altars. God alone can rule the hearts of the children of men, and we must bide his time, and be satisfied to wait until He shall choose to give us the inestimable blessing of peace. Meanwhile it is pleasant to be reminded, through an assemblage such as this, that there is an institution in the world which points to better things than we can see around us. The Church on earth is the forerunner of the Church triumphant, and its duties and trials, its cares and ordinances, all carry our hearts onward to the time when, having overturned, overturned, overturned on earth as long as shall be needful for His purposes, He shall come, whose right it is, and bring with Him righteousness and peace.”⁴¹

The First General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America was held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, beginning November 22nd, 1862. The Pastoral Letter, addressed “to the Clergy and Laity of the Church in the Confederate States of America,” was written by Bishop Elliott; and reveals his splendid mind and deep sincerity. In it, he explained the reason for the separation, the changes made, and the duty and mission of the Church.

“Seldom has any Council assembled in the Church of Christ under circumstances needing His presence more urgently than this which is now about to submit its conclusions to the judgment of the Universal Church. Forced by the Providence of God to separate ourselves from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States,—a Church with whose doctrine, discipline and worship we are in entire harmony, and with whose action, up to the time of that separation, we were abundantly satisfied—at a moment when civil strife had dipped

⁴¹*Journal, 40th Convention, Diocese of Georgia, 1862.*

its foot in blood, and cruel war was desolating our homes and firesides: we required a double measure of grace to preserve the accustomed moderation of the Church in the arrangement of our organic law, in the adjustment of our code of Canons, but above all, in the preservation, without change, of those rich treasures of doctrine and worship which have come to us enshrined in our Book of Common Prayer. Cut off likewise from all communication with our sister Churches of the world, we have been compelled to act without any interchange of opinion even with our Mother Church, and alone and unaided to arrange for ourselves the organization under which we should do our part in carrying on to their consummation the purposes of God in Christ Jesus."

Here followed an explanation of the changes made by the First General Council in the Constitution and Canons of the Church, so as to adapt the same to the Confederate Church. The Constitution would remain the same, except "that we have introduced into it a germ of expansion which was wanting in the old Constitution . . . in the permission which is granted to existing Dioceses to form themselves, by subdivision, into Provinces; and by this process gradually to reduce our immense Dioceses into Episcopal Sees, more like those which in primitive times, covered the territories of the Roman Empire," and promising "a more close and constant Episcopal supervision." The Canon Law, "altogether in its spirit, and almost in its letter, identical with that under which we have hitherto prospered," had been simplified, and made "more clear and plain;" but "no changes have been introduced which have altered either its tone or character." The Prayer Book has been "left untouched in every particular, save where a change of our civil government and the formation of a new nation have made alteration essentially requisite. Three words comprise all the amendment which has been deemed necessary in our present emergency, for we have felt unwilling, in the existing confusion of affairs, to lay rash hands upon a Book consecrated by the use of ages, and hallowed by associations the most sacred and precious. We give you back your Book of Common Prayer the same as you have entrusted it to us, believing that if it has slight defects, their removal had better be the gradual work of experience than the hasty action of a body convened almost upon the outskirts of a camp."

"Believing with a wonderful unanimity, that the Providence of God had guided our footsteps, and for His own inscrutable purposes had forced us into a separate organization, there has been nothing to embarrass us in the preliminary movements which have conducted us to our present position. With one mind and with one heart we have entered upon this blessed work; and we stand together this day a band of brothers, one

in faith, one in hope, one in charity. . . . We are all satisfied that we are walking in the path of duty, and that the light of God's countenance has been wonderfully lifted up upon us."

It was recognised by the Church of the Confederacy that a vast field lay before it. Many of the states were recognised as a missionary ground. "The population is sparse and scattered; the children of the Church are few and far between; the Priests of the Lord can reach them only after great labor and privation. Hitherto has their scanty subsistence been eked out from the common treasury of our united Church. Cut off from that recourse by our political action, in which they have heartily acquiesced, they turn to us and pray us to do at least as much for them as we have been accustomed to do for the Church from which they have been separated by a civil necessity. . . . The religious instruction of the negroes has been thrust upon us in such a wonderful manner, that we must be blind not to perceive that not only our spiritual but our national life is wrapped up in their welfare. With them we stand or fall; and God will not permit us to be separated in interest or in fortune."

"The time has come when the Church should press more urgently than she has hitherto done upon her laity, the solemn fact, that the slaves of the South are not merely so much property; but are a sacred trust committed to us, as a people, to be prepared for the work which God may have for them to do in the future. While under this tutelage He freely gives to us their labor, but expects us to give back to them that religious and moral instruction which is to elevate them in the scale of being. And while inculcating this truth, the Church must offer more freely her ministrations for their benefit and improvement. Her laity must set the example of readiness to fulfill their duty towards these people; and her clergy must strip themselves of pride and fastidiousness and indolence, and rush, with the zeal of martyrs, to this labor of love."

Likewise, said the Pastoral Letter, it was the duty of the Church to press upon slave-owners their obligation, as Christian men, to respect the sacred relations of family, so as not to separate parents and children, husbands and wives.

The Church should keep in mind its duty to maintain oversight of the camps, and minister the word and sacraments to the soldiers in field and hospital. The letter continued:—

"The most striking deficiency in the Church's work which we perceive in looking at the Church's life, is a lack of zeal in spreading the influences of the Church through her Services and Sacraments. Our ministry has become too local and se-

dentary, too well satisfied to sit down and do the work which it has undertaken to do, overlooking the fields white for the harvest which are spread out all around them, and which cannot be cultivated save through their agency. Every well-established congregation should consider itself as a centre of Missionary work, and should encourage its pastor to extend his usefulness beyond its own limits, and while he is a Priest to them, to be, in some measure, a Missionary to all about him."

The small amount of spiritual intercourse among the clergy brought forth an expression of regret. "Each man works in his own sphere: but for the most part he gives nothing to his brother clergyman, and receives nothing from him in return." Another cause for complaint was "the little spiritual help which is given to the Clergy by the Laity."

"But over and above all these special deficiencies, looms up that greatest of all deficiencies, the lack of the Holy Spirit in and with our Churches. Because of the degree to which spiritual influences have been abused in our land, we have been tempted to run into the other extreme, and to forget that we are living under what the Apostle calls the dispensation of the Spirit, and that the Church's work must derive all its power from His presence. . . . Let the Church and her Ministers always bear in mind, that the growth of the Church and the vitality of the Church are 'not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit,' saith the Lord."⁴²

Truly the Pastoral Letter issued in the name of the First General Council of the Confederate Episcopal Church was a noble document.

The First Annual Council, which under the reorganization, took the place of the Forty-first Annual Convention of the Diocese of Georgia, met at the Church of the Atonement, in Augusta, May 7th, 1863. At that time, the outlook was encouraging for the South. General H. C. Wayne, Adjutant and Inspector General of the State of Georgia, attended the Council as a lay delegate from St. Stephen's, Milledgeville; and offered the following preamble and resolution, which were unanimously adopted:—

"Whereas, The Council of the Diocese recognizes the merciful hand of God in the successes attending the army of the Confederate States, during our struggle for Independence, for surely nothing beneath Divine intervention could have safely brought us thus far; to God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, then, it becomes us as individuals, and as an Ecclesiastical Council, to render public thanks and praise for all His goodness, especially now, when the nation is rejoicing over recent glorious victories: Therefore:

⁴²*Sermons of the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, pp. 568-580.*

"Resolved, That the Bishop be requested to appoint some hour on to-morrow for the offering up of 'Te Deum Laudamus,' and that the citizens of Augusta generally be invited, through the morning papers, to unite with us."

Thereupon Bishop Elliott appointed Friday, May 8th.

The Bishop remarked that "terrible as has been the war which has raged around us, Our Lord and Master has not permitted this portion of his heritage to be further devastated. . . . No Diocese, save Alabama, has suffered so little as we have done. While in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, many of their very strongest Parishes have passed into the hands of an unscrupulous foe, and have been utterly broken up, their people scattered, and their altars desecrated; while in Tennessee and Arkansas, the Church has been utterly destroyed, so that there ecclesiastical functions can no longer be performed, Alabama and Georgia have felt, in but a very slight degree, the pressure of the times."

Three of the Georgia parishes have been scattered, he said; and one church edifice—that of St. Mary's—desecrated; but no injury has been inflicted on any of the buildings, "and our people could return to them and worship in them as before, should peace be restored to us. The refugees from these parishes are sheltered in other folds, or have erected private altars in the wilderness."

Diocesan affairs were declared to be in a wholesome condition. Except the Church of the Advent, in Madison, all the organised parishes were supplied with clergymen. Two presbyters and one deacon were serving as chaplains in the service of the Confederacy. The missionaries had been paid in advance to August 1st next; many of the clergymen had received advances to meet higher prices. There was evidence of a steady growth in the Diocese, despite the warfare.

The Bishop had spent three days at Mrs. Ford's institution at Cave Springs. "This happy arrangement of Mrs. Ford's is not a school; it is a home in which the young can cultivate all the virtues of the heart, and receive the highest refinements of manners at the same time that they are taught and educated. It is a want which has been most happily supplied." (The Reverend Mr. Ford had passed away; he was buried December 28th, 1862, from his old parish, St. Paul's, Augusta).

The Ogeechee mission work among the negroes had suffered much. On March 29th, 1863, the Bishop had visited such portions of it as remained upon that river. "The plantations in that vicinity have been so much exposed, especially since the new plan of extermination has been commenced, that most of the planters have very judiciously removed their negroes from the neighborhood of temptation and have trans-

ferred their labor to points in the interior, which have been periodically and faithfully visited by the missionary (Rev. Wm. C. Williams).” From those that remained to carry on the rice tillage and to take care of the property, Mr. Williams had presented fifteen candidates for confirmation.

“I could not but conjecture, as I performed this service within sight of the blockading fleet, under command of a Churchman, whom I had heard addressing our last General Convention, in Richmond, upon the subject of our Foreign Missions, which was probably doing God’s service most acceptably, the Church in the South, which was laboring to train the children of Africa in the way of righteousness and truth, or he who was sending marauding expeditions up every river and creek of the South to interrupt those efforts and to demoralize the subjects of those Missions.”

On the 13th of April, 1863, Bishop Elliott held services at Roswell, in the Presbyterian church. There were five or six communicants in that place, under the care of the Marietta priest.

As Chairman of the Prayer Book Committee of the Church in the Confederate States, Bishop Elliott caused the publication of a mission service for the use of the Church. It was impossible to reprint the whole Prayer Book, “as there was an entire lack of material for that purpose, and we had not yet determined what that Prayer Book should be.” This mission service was a republication with additions of a pamphlet issued by the Diocese of New York; and contained Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, arranged “so as to make it easy for one unacquainted with the service to follow it at once.” Prayers and various portions of the book adapted to the Army and Navy were included, also copious selections of Psalms in metre and certain hymns.

The Church branched out into new fields, notwithstanding the tension of the times. Services were held in Tray Chapel, fifteen miles from Clarksville; in Roswell, Greensboro, Kingston, and LaGrange, besides the regularly organised places. The Reverend Richard Johnson, formerly of St. Philip’s, Atlanta, was Chaplain of the First South Carolina Volunteer Cavalry, of General Hampton’s Brigade; the Reverend Samuel J. Pinkerton, formerly of St. Andrew’s, Darien, was Chaplain to the hospitals in Atlanta, under the appointment of President Jefferson Davis; the Reverend Jaquelin M. Meredith was Chaplain in the Confederate States Army, in General A. P. Hill’s division of General Stonewall Jackson’s corps. The last named reported that he took up a collection of one hundred dollars from the officers of the 47th Regiment, which he applied to the benefit of the several Bible and Tract Societies,

from which he had been receiving supplies for the regiment. Said Bishop Elliott:—

“The efficiency and comfort of the Chaplains has been much aided by the kind efforts of our late noble and much beloved Christian General Jackson. He took personal interest in our Chaplain’s meetings, and was very anxious to obtain Chaplains for every one of his regiments, only half of which were supplied last week; besides procuring the passage of a law, giving to Chaplains forage for a horse, which is essential to usefulness.”⁴³

On the 21st of May, 1863, Bishop Elliott began services with the Army of the West, encamped in Tennessee. He spent about two weeks in ministering to the soldiers, preaching several times and baptising some of the officers and men. He conducted religious services for those under the command of General Bragg and his lieutenant-generals; for General Maney, General Manigault, General Hardee, General Wood, General Lucius Polk, and General Liddell. He confirmed General Bragg.

Bishop Elliott visited Greensboro, on the 20th of September, 1863, and confirmed three in the Presbyterian church. On Monday, September 21st, he organised a parish there under the name of the Church of the Redeemer. On October 10th, he visited Griffin, and officiated in a temporary building used ordinarily as a school-room; there he confirmed nine. On October 14th, he held services in the Presbyterian church of LaGrange. April 20th, 1864, he officiated in the Methodist church at Dalton, where the army of General Johnston had its headquarters. “After sermon the Rev. C. T. Quintard presented a class of eleven persons for confirmation, among whom were a lieutenant general and three generals of the Confederate army.” Bishop Elliott consecrated the new St. Luke’s Church, in Atlanta on the 22nd of April, 1864. The rector of St. Philip’s had given his hearty consent to the formation of a new parish; and a church-like edifice had been rapidly built, capable of seating about four hundred. The cost was about \$12,000. It was the Reverend Charles Todd Quintard (1824-1898; later Bishop of Tennessee) who had been ordered to Atlanta on duty by General Joseph E. Johnston, and who recognised this opportunity and decided to start the new parish. On April 27th, Bishop Elliott held services in the chapel of the Female College at Americus.

Compared with the sufferings of several of the dioceses, the Bishop could say in 1864 that the trials of the Church in Georgia had been as nothing. “While they have been devastated, our Diocese has continued almost unharmed. While their Clergy and Laity have been scattered, and are now finding refuge among their Christian friends, ours have

⁴³*Journal, 1st Annual Council, Diocese of Georgia, 1863.*

been permitted to continue in the enjoyment of home and of Church. While many of their Church edifices have been defiled and desecrated, ours have not yet been polluted by the tread of ungodly men."

"Our Church work during the past Ecclesiastical year has been very abundant. The solemn aspect of the times, the constant presence of danger, the load of anxiety which has pressed upon the heart, have all worked together to lead many to humble themselves at the foot of Jesus's Cross, and to offer themselves to his service. In no year since the commencement of my Episcopate have I confirmed so many persons, nor admitted to the Communion of the Church so many young and active men, preparing, I trust, for future usefulness in her work upon earth."⁴⁴

Later the same year, when the tide had turned against the South, the Bishop preached on the text: "In your patience possess ye your souls" (St. Luke XXI., 19). "What is our discipline, if everything is to happen just as we think it should?" he asked. "If no crosses are to meet us by the way; if no troubles are to harass our paths; if no afflictions are to cast their shadows upon our households; if no desolation is to sweep athwart the track of our country's prosperity? What call is there for the exercise of our patience, if that patience is never to be tried either by man or God? . . . Calamity, trouble, affliction, perplexity, are all necessary to bring out the beauties of grace, just as a dark background throws into prominent relief the beauties of nature and of art."

"We must be patient; and in our patience we must possess our souls. We must possess them in the sight of all men, for the uses of society. We must keep up the superiority of reason; must be sober, calm, earnest, resolute; must not permit passion to overcome us, nor fear to unnerve us, nor grief to overwhelm us, nor the loss of wordly things to cast us down. We are contending for great things; and we must be great ourselves, great especially in the possession of our souls. . . . In such a conflict as this, passion is of no moment. It only disfigures the scene of action. Patience, endurance, self-control, self-possession, are our qualities for this world. But above all should every one of us, in our patience, see to the salvation of our souls,—to that higher possession which makes them ours forever; ours not only while we are struggling here, but ours while we are resting from all conflicts in the grave."⁴⁵

When the next Council met, the War was over; the South had surrendered. On May 11th, 1865, there was a session held at St. Paul's

⁴⁴*Journal, Second Annual Council, Diocese of Georgia, 1864.*

⁴⁵*Sermons of the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, pp. 491, 494.*

Church, Albany. At that time, the Diocese was in the greatest confusion; communications were broken, and all money values had ceased. The sermon was preached by the Reverend T. Jefferson Staley, of Marshallville, on the text:—"Our light affliction which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory" (II. Corinthians iv., 17). Only three clergymen were present beside Bishop Elliott, and only six lay delegates. But at that time, Calvary Church, Americus, was received in union with the Council of the Diocese. An adjourned session was convened at Athens, in Emmanuel Church, August 10th.

Up to the summer of 1864, the Diocese had been subjected to very little loss because of the War, either in church buildings or in property. Soon afterwards, however, the advance of the Federal army began; Cave Springs, Rome, Marietta, and Atlanta were subjected to its devastations. The church edifices at three of those places were more or less despoiled; the new St. Luke's Church, Atlanta, was burned to the ground; St. Philip's, Atlanta, was converted into a bowling alley. The parsonages at Marietta and Atlanta were entirely consumed, and a fort was erected upon the site of the latter. St. Paul's, the free church of Savannah, was used for some purpose connected with military occupation. Members of the congregations and the rectors suffered severely. 'In Rome, Marietta, and Atlanta, their treatment was especially harsh. The Rev. Messrs. Benedict and Hunt"—Samuel Benedict, rector of St. James's, Marietta, and John J. Hunt, who was residing in that town—"were first imprisoned, with circumstances of great severity, and then banished from their homes. Dr. Quintard and Mr. Pinkerton"—the Reverend Samuel J. Pinkerton, chaplain to the hospitals in Atlanta—"taking warning from their fate, left Atlanta, both of them devoting themselves to army service, while Mr. Freeman"—the Reverend Andrew F. Freeman, rector of St. Philip's, Atlanta—"having been deprived of his home, took refuge in Cincinnati, with his brother. . . . What our people have suffered in feeling and property cannot be estimated. They have been scattered far and wide over the surface of the State, exiles from their homes; have witnessed the destruction of their homesteads; have mourned over parents, and husbands, and sons, slain in defence of their friends; have been subjected to poverty and privation and in some instances absolute martyrdom."

In his address at Athens, at the adjourned session, Bishop Elliott said:—

"The tumultuous tide of events has rolled very contrary to our wishes and our anticipations; has been freighted with a heavy burden of sorrow, and suffering, and death, and has brought us together this day with trouble all around us, with

cruel anxieties pressing upon us, with grave perplexities entangling us, with very little joy or hope save such as may spring from a divine source. . . . We will rejoice, however dark His dispensations may appear, and no man shall deprive us of our joy, that the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. Believing most surely that he maketh all things work together for good to them that love him, we will acquiesce submissively in his doings, 'standing' meanwhile, 'upon our watch-tower, and watching to see what he will say to us, and what we shall answer when we are reproved.' "

The year before, Bishop Elliott had visited the school at Montpelier for the first time since 1853. On May 15th, 1864, he confirmed in St. Luke's parish, Montpelier, eleven young ladies—pupils at the school kept there by the Reverend J. T. Pryse. He was glad to note that the school had been preserved so well by the various hands through which it had passed since its sale.

On June 15th, 1864, he had learned of the death of his beloved friend and brother in the episcopate, Leonidas Polk, who had been killed by a cannon shot. Bishop Polk, who had become a general in the Confederate Army, was buried in the churchyard of St. Paul's, Augusta, on the 29th of June. Bishop Elliott preached the funeral sermon. "I buried on that day the most intimate friend of my life, one with whom I had held sweet council (sic) for more than twenty years, and whose nobility of soul and purity of virtue and piety of heart were never excelled upon earth. Many may judge him, but few ever equaled him."

On the 24th of July, 1864, the Bishop confirmed at New Hope Church, Ogeechee Mission, 54 negroes. But at the Council the following year, he reported that "since that time, the sweep of General Sherman's Army has dispersed this noble mission, and what will be its future fate, God only knows. Mr. Williams, upon the approach of the Federal forces, left the mission, with my consent, and has since been doing missionary work at Clarksville, Georgia. In his separation from these people, he carries with him the satisfaction of knowing that he has labored most faithfully among them in his Master's service, and has sacrificed many things which men hold dear in this world. Whether he will ever minister to these people again is a problem which cannot, at present, be solved."

In August, 1864, the Bishop had visited Sparta, where he found a group of churchmen, for whom he held services in the Baptist church.

He was in Savannah, when General Sherman's army formally invested the city on the land side, December 11th, 1864. "I remained with my congregation until the 20th of the month, then I evacuated the city with General Hardee's Army, my position as Bishop of the Diocese

requiring me to be at liberty, so as to communicate with my Clergy, and to move in and out among my people as necessity should require."

Seventeen days after Lee's surrender, April 26th, the Bishop held services at Marshallville in the Baptist church. The following day he officiated at Oglethorpe, Macon county, in the Methodist church.

At the 1865 diocesan Council, Bishop Elliott recommended reunion with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America.

"Our Diocese has been left, by the results of the war, in a state of much depression. Churches have, in many cases, to be repaired, in some instances to be rebuilt. Our Clergymen are, for the time, without salaries, their people being scattered or else impoverished. Many of the funds which we had been collecting, with great pains, have been entirely lost or very much impaired; and worse than all, our agricultural industry, which was the basis of our prosperity, is, for the present, at a stand-still. All these things are against us, but I trust that there is still left to us a true and living faith, which will enable us to rise superior to these ills of fortune. . . . We must now, more than ever before, cultivate patience, endurance, economy, liberality, industry. We must not be ashamed of our condition, nor unwilling to live according to our circumstances. Above all, let us not live upon other people. . . .

"I would suggest to those Parishes whose Churches need repairs, to set about the work themselves, and to do everything in the plainest manner, and upon the most economical principles. God does not look at the ornamentation of a building. He looks at the hearts which are throbbing within that building. A lectern, a table, chairs carried to the house of God, are all that are necessary where the walls are standing. Congregational singing can supply the place of the organ and the choir. Where the edifice itself has been destroyed, some vacant room can be procured where worship may be conducted, or camps may be constructed for the purpose."

The Bishop closed his address to the first post-war Council with this touching incident:—

"Upon my late visit to Atlanta, I visited the ruins of our Churches, and as I entered the fort that was placed by the Federal army upon the site of the parsonage of St. Philip's, I spied a page of printed paper, which had been wafted by the wind into its enclosure. I picked it up and my eyes fell directly upon these words: 'The office of a Bishop has descended from generation to generation from the Apostles' times.' It went directly to my heart as a ray of unspeakable comfort; it was as a voice from the midst of earthly ruin, saying unto me, and through me to the Church, 'Be not dismayed; the Church shall arise from her ashes and put on the beautiful garments of

her holiness, and no matter what man may do unto her, she shall be indestructible in her ministry of truth. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand forever.' ”⁴⁶

The first sermon preached by Bishop Elliott on his return to Savannah after the War was delivered before an humiliated and impoverished people, broken in heart and spirit. He urged his hearers to accept what seemed God's way, without protest or rebellious feelings. "We are not placed here upon earth to direct the purposes of God," he said. "All we can do is to act our part as seems to us right; to follow that path of duty, which opens itself before us."

"One of the hardest trials of our faith is that which is enjoined upon us by God in our text: to 'be still,' when He has laid the heavy hand of chastisement upon us, and 'know that He is God.' It is so much more natural, when our prosperity has been blighted, and days of darkness have blotted out the sunshine of our hearts and homes, to look at the secondary causes of our misfortunes and be angry with them, rather than see the rod in the hand of God, and then submit in quietness to the will of Him who has dispensed it. . . .

"To find any comfort in the consideration of human affairs, we must ever acknowledge a present Deity. Without Him, all is chaos, and all would be despair. Things would seem to go on without any rule, and folly and vice and wickedness to ride triumphant over the efforts of man. But when we soar above the sensible and visible, and see Him seated upon His throne of righteousness and of mercy, holding in His hands the complicated threads of human action, and guiding and governing all wills and powers, as He thinks best for His creatures, we bow in humility and with thanksgiving: in humility, that we should presume to murmur when He is ruling over us; with thanksgiving, that the world has not been left to itself, but that He who has foreordained all things, is driving them on to their rightful consummation. So long as we fasten our thoughts upon secondary causes, upon human agents, upon earthly instruments, our most dangerous passions are kept alive: our anger, our wrath, our bitterness, our hatred, our uncharitableness;—the very feelings which inspired men have commanded us, as Christians, to put aside. It is not until God is permitted to fill our hearts, and to become—what He is—the Ruling Spirit of all worldly movements, and to shut out by His glorious Presence the human instruments through whom He works and punishes, that these unchristian passions can be soothed and quelled." ⁴⁷

⁴⁶*Journal, Third Annual Council, Diocese of Georgia, 1865.*

⁴⁷*Sermons of the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel, pp. 477-486.*

On the 12th of February, 1866, Bishop Elliott addressed the Georgia Historical Society, of which he had become President. He lamented the fact that the literary spirit which once animated Savannah had almost entirely died out through lack of cultivation. Forty years ago, when he visited the town, he was brought in contact with its cleverest men, and found a high standard of literary excellence and of classical attainment. The same deterioration had occurred everywhere—in Richmond, in Charleston, in the whole country with the possible exception of Boston. When he first remembered Charleston distinctly, "the whole community was daily aglow with the wit of the young men about town, who threw off their fancies through the newspapers and daily sheets, sure of finding an appreciative audience."

"Democratic institutions and levelling principles have done their work, and save where some great literary institution with proper endowments to make it independent of popular favor, has stayed the flood, everything, which deserves the name of literature, has been swept away before the all absorbing interest of politics, of business and of practical life. Science has flourished and advanced, because science is necessary to commerce, to navigation, and to the production of wealth, but literature, which is only elegant and refining, has retired into private life, content to adorn the circles of home, but too sensitive to brave the contemptuous and sneering spirit of utilitarianism."

His address was an earnest plea for a revival of the literary spirit. The monthly meetings of the Georgia Historical Society might be the means of raising the tone of conversation and elevating literary standards. "We may meet month after month and do as we are doing now, and none of us will gain any thing from our meetings of either knowledge or impulse. No new topics are introduced; no new books lie upon our table; nothing comes before us which connects us with the world across the water, that great centre of all that is beautiful in art, or grand in science, or rich in literature. We are in a condition of isolation and stagnation, and the waters must be stirred. We may not be able by our efforts to do all we might desire, but we can do something. We may not create a literature, but we may at least place what literature there is within the reach of those round us."⁴⁸

The next diocesan Council was held at St. John's, Savannah, May 10th, 1866. Bishop Elliott stated that he had been busy corresponding with the bishops, clergy, and laymen of the late Confederacy and of the United States of America regarding reunion. In January, he had given notice to the Presiding Bishop of the Church of the readiness of the

⁴⁸Elliott: *Reply to a resolution of the Georgia Historical Society*, pp. 7, 10.

Church in Georgia to resume relations. He had been much affected by the spirit shown at the General Convention in Philadelphia. "Grandly and sublimely did (the Church) bear herself in the sight of the world. Instead of anathemas, there were warm greetings of renewed friendship and tears of reconciled love. Instead of excommunications, there was hearty welcome, and assurances of rejoicing hearts over the healing of the wounds which had been produced by political strife. Everything was done that a divine charity could dictate, and the action of the Convention satisfied every one that there was no longer any ground for a continued separation." There is a tradition in the Elliott family, evidently based on fact, that at the first General Convention of the Episcopal Church held after the War between the States, Stephen Elliott had sat down in the back of the House of Bishops, not moving forward to his appointed seat; he was not sure that he would receive a fraternal welcome from his brother bishops. But the far-sighted and broad-minded Presiding Bishop of the Church, the Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins of Vermont, recognised Bishop Elliott, and went in person to extend him his affectionate greetings and urged him to take his rightful place in the hall. The spirit which Bishop Hopkins and other northern bishops showed on that occasion was beautiful and friendly; and we may be sure that the breach between the contending sections of the country would have been healed with little delay if such an attitude had pervaded the political order in the years which followed that unfortunate strife.

The Clarksville parish was in a very depressed condition, because of the removal of the people and the inability of the others to occupy their summer retreats. In October, 1865, the Bishop had resumed his duties as rector of Christ Church, Savannah, where the Reverend Charles H. Coley had remained faithful to his post, during his absence. "I found the Parish suffering and depressed, but united in spirit, and determined, by God's help, to maintain the services of the Church in their integrity, and to continue to be, what Christ Church has ever been, the nursing mother of the Churches of the Diocese." On January 14th, 1866, he had gone to St. Philip's, Atlanta, where he performed an "office for expiation and illustration of a church desecrated or prophaned," the same being taken from the Irish Prayer Book. St. Philip's had been "horribly desecrated during the occupation of the city by the Federal army." St. James's, Marietta, had suffered very much during the War; the building was in sad condition, but the parishioners were putting their shoulder to the work of restoration. Milledgeville had also gone through the horrors of war, having been captured on Easter Day; its parishioners had experienced great privations both in person and property.

"The war has agitated society to its depths—has connected men together in a way in which they have never been connected—has vanquished many old prejudices—has tried and tested every thing to the bottom, and has satisfied men that the systems in which they have hitherto rested are unsound and unsatisfactory. The consequence is, that many thoughtful and truthful minds are looking for light and for knowledge—are stretching out their hands, if haply they may find some rock on which to plant their feet. Now is the Church's time for action. . . . There is no time for sloth and indulgence—no time for a folding of the arms and doing only what is set for us to do. We must up and be working—pressing forward boldly and fearlessly, and honoring Christ in his Church before men."

Bishop Elliott, like many other noble-minded men of the South, refused to admit that the outcome of the War proved the accusations of the abolitionists. The emancipation of the slaves, he said, "has placed the Diocese of Georgia under no new obligations; it has rather freed her from a fearful responsibility. The Church in our Diocese needed no instruction from abroad upon her duty to the slaves within her border. She had always considered slavery as a trust committed to her by God. . . . Slavery was no institution of her making. Georgia protested against the introduction into her limits again and again, but it was thrust upon her by English and New England cupidity. When thus forced upon her, without her desire, its descent from father to son, and its rapid increase made no difference in its guilt, if guilt there was. . . . The duty of the Church was to act under certain circumstances in which she found herself—circumstances not created by herself, but permitted to exist for the trial of her faith and zeal. And wonderfully has she performed her work. Never, in the history of the world, has there been such a rapid and effective missionary work as the Christian Church has performed in this land in connection with slavery. For we must remember that the slaves when brought here, up to a period as late as 1808, were the same savages as our Missionaries are now combating with, to very little effect, upon the coast of Africa; were the same savages as are cutting each other's throats, day after day, and perpetrating enormities, which disgrace humanity, upon their own soil, even in the very sight of missionary operations. And yet, within the period of two centuries, there has been made out of these savages a Christian people, having a clear discernment of right and wrong, understanding very distinctly the system of our religion, having educated teachers of their own color and their own race, gentle, kind and, until meddled with, faithful and affectionate."⁴⁹

In his address to the Annual Council of the Diocese, in 1866, Bishop

⁴⁹*Journal, Fourth Annual Council, Diocese of Georgia, 1866, p. 25.*

Elliott gave an eloquent defence of the attitude of the Church towards slavery. He spoke of the large proportion of negro communicants. In large cities, the negroes possessed churches of their own; in the rural districts they were visited by missionaries appointed specially for their benefit, or they mingled in the same religious instruction with their owners, "eating of the same consecrated bread and drinking of the same consecrated wine."

"Their behavior during the long fierce war which has now terminated is the sublimest vindication of the institution of slavery, as it existed among us, which could have been offered to the world. With years of preliminary agitation about the rights of the slaves and the cruelty and barbarism of the masters—with hordes of deceitful fanatics scattered through the Southern country, some in the guise of teachers, some of pedlars, some of book agents, some of mechanics, and all alike tampering with the slaves—with a war which required the absence of all the able-bodied and the warlike from home—with a proclamation of emancipation sounded in their ears as early as 1862, and summoning them virtually to strike for their rights—with large armies of those who called themselves their friends traversing the country and thundering at their very doors—these people never once lifted their hands or their voices voluntarily against their owners, but with nobody to coerce and restrain them save weak women and infirm men and boys too young for military purposes, they remained quiet, docile, industrious, obedient, exhibiting in no case, that I have ever heard of, insubordination or disorder. Any cruelty they may have since exhibited they have learned from other teaching than ours—any barbarism into which they may have since lapsed, they have fallen into after they had passed from under our influence. Where in the world's history has there been a case like this of forbearance and quietness where an inferior race has been oppressed by a superior, and had the means given it of vengeance? Our own times furnish us two instances in fearful contrast—the one of the ferocity of the French in their terrible overthrow of the Church, the monarchy and the aristocracy, and that of the negroes of St. Domingo, who have furnished to this age a name for every thing inhuman and barbarous. One of two things is therefore clear, either that these people suffered no oppression worth the name, or that slavery has produced Christian virtues, through its teaching and discipline, of the most rare and striking character."

The Bishop averred that the Christian Church in the South was vindicated from the obloquy which had been poured upon it, as if it had been winking at a barbarous and unchristian system, and doing nothing to ameliorate it.

"No people have ever labored more faithfully, more devotedly, with more self-denial, than have Southern Christians to do their best for the slaves committed to their trust. Very many have I known who have given up their lives for their religious instruction—many who have impoverished themselves that their slaves might be comfortable or free. Almost every Minister for a half century past has devoted some of his time to these poorer members of his flock, and very many more would have kneeled at our altars, had they not preferred a more exciting worship and a more enthusiastic exhibition of their feelings than we allowed. I say without any fear of rightful contradiction, that if a slave did not receive religious instruction it was because he did not care about it, or because he was in some remote position, where the whites were as badly off as himself."

In meeting the situation, said Bishop Elliott, there is no need of changing the present system of instruction, or calling in any foreign help. "The Church in Georgia has always taught the colored race so far as the number of her Clergymen and the rivalry of the other denominations would permit her. We must simply carry on the same plan in the future. We have always had Sunday schools for them; let us continue the same. We have always welcomed them to our Churches and altars; let us continue the same. We have always permitted them to organize churches for themselves—they have been free as air upon this point; let us continue the same."

"None understand the colored race as well as we do—none care for it as much as we do—none have its confidence as fully as we have. My sincere conviction is that if any future good or blessing is to come for these people, it must be of home growth; it must be the continuation of the same kindly feeling between the races which has heretofore existed. Every person imported from abroad to instruct or teach these people is an influence, unintentionally, perhaps, but really, widening the breach between the races. This work must be done by ourselves—done faithfully, earnestly, and as in the sight of God. Love must go along with it; gratitude for their past services; memories of our infancy and childhood; thoughts of the glory which will accrue to us, when we shall lead these people, once our servants, but not now as servants, but above servants, as brethren beloved, and present them to Christ as our offering of repentance for what we may have failed to fulfill, in the past, of our trust.

"But it may be asked—Do you regret the abolition of slavery? For myself and my race, No! I rather rejoice in it; but for them, most deeply. I sincerely believe it the greatest calamity which could have befallen them; the heaviest stroke which has been struck against religious advancement in this land. I would not, if I could, have it restored for any benefit

to me or mine or my countrymen. I have met nobody who would. But for them I see no future in this country. Avarice and cupidity and interest will do for their extinction what they have always done for an unprotected inferior race. Poverty, disease, intemperance will follow in their train and do the rest. I say these things from no ill feeling against the race, for God is my witness, I have loved them and do love them, and have labored for them all my life, but because at this moment I think it my duty to put these opinions upon record, that the past may be vindicated and the future take none by surprise."⁵⁰

The General Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the (late) Confederate States of America was convened at St. Paul's Church, Augusta, November 8th, 1866. Bishop Elliott presided; he celebrated the Holy Communion, assisted by Bishop Wilmer of Alabama. The dioceses of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi were represented. The Committee on Conference presented a report, declaring that the necessity which caused an independent branch of the Church Catholic to be formed no longer existed. "The spirit of charity which prevailed in the proceedings of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, at its late session in Philadelphia, has warmly commended itself to the hearts of the Council." It was advised that there be reunion.

1866 was a confused and anxious year in the South; the people, impoverished, expatriated, and humiliated, hardly knew where to turn. But Bishop Elliott's voice always carried hope and assurance. "Let us not look at the clouds," he said in one of his sermons, "but at Him who rideth upon the clouds. Let us not fear the darkness, but enter into it,—if it be our duty,—knowing that God often dwelleth in the thick darkness." He counselled resignation to God's will, and the throwing aside of all bitterness and resentment. In the last sermon preached by him in Savannah, he said:—

"There are some, I know, who see and acknowledge an overruling Providence; who can perceive an order in the midst of apparent confusion; who can trace a divine plan through all the complications of human affairs. To such there can be no fear. In the hearts of these children of God there can be no distress. They can see God in the whirlwind, and in the storm; and they can trust to Him who is forever working to bring in their redemption. . . . When the nations are distressed and perplexed, when men's hearts are failing them for fear, when the sea and the waves are roaring; then may God's children look up and lift up their heads, for they may rest assured that their redemption draweth nigh,—that their salvation is nearer than when they believed."⁵¹

⁵⁰*Op. cit.*, pp. 26-29.

⁵¹*Sermons of the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott . . . with a Memoir by Thomas M. Hanckel*, p. 527.

The last Sunday sermon of his life was preached December 16th, 1866. In it he said:—

“Jesus Christ must be the Finisher as well as the Author of our Faith; must perfect that in glory which He has begun in grace! If you need faith, look unto Jesus. You can do all things through Christ strengthening you! If you need mercy, look unto Jesus. Mercy and Truth came by Him. Keep your eye fixed upon Him, and all else will prove easy! Weights will fall off, and not tarry to be cast away. Unbelief will wither under the brightness of His light, and shrink away abashed before His glory! Keep your eye fixed steadily upon Him, for He is the brightness of His Father’s glory, and the express image of His Person; and ‘we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord,’ shall be ‘changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.’”⁵²

Bishop Elliott’s last sermon was preached at Montpelier, the scene of his hopes and efforts, December 20th, the day before his death. How appropriate was the text! “For the Son of Man is as a man taking a far journey, who left his house, and gave authority to his servants, and to every man his work, and commanded the porter to watch. . . .” (St. Mark xiii., 34-47). “These are no times for sleeping,” he said,—

“The sorrows of the time, which have overwhelmed and made torpid so many hearts, are sent by God to prepare you for coming evil. Of all times, the present calls for watchfulness and not for apathy! Arouse yourselves, children of God; and while you humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God, forget not that you are Christ’s servants, bound to do His work in the Church militant upon earth, and to advance His kingdom wherever He may spread the banner of the Cross. Instead of permitting suffering to overcome your faith, let it rather lead you on to perfection. Instead of fainting in the day of adversity, gird up your loins, and be sober, and strong in the Lord. Instead of sleeping because the world is trouble and agitated, rather stand upon your watch-tower, and await in faith and patience the coming of your Master.”

From Montpelier, Bishop Elliott returned to Savannah. He had just taken his last meal, when suddenly he fell over lifeless (December 21st, 1866). He was sixty years of age. His death was a great shock; and tributes were paid to him as a preacher, a scholar, and a man of God. For more than twenty-five years he had been Bishop of Georgia; and under his direction and personal oversight, the infant Diocese had made rapid strides. The Convention recorded its high appreciation of his remarkable qualifications for the episcopal office: “his profound ac-

⁵²*Op. cit.*, pp. 552-553.

quaintance with human and divine learning; his pre-eminent power as a preacher of the Gospel of the grace of God; his keen insight into the motives and instincts of men; his tact and ability in administering his Diocese; his watchfulness and tender sympathy for all the flock committed to his care; his interest in the welfare of our colored population; his careful avoidance of party issues and all extremes in doctrine, discipline and worship; and his cautious endeavors to pursue the quiet, conservative paths trodden by the wisest and most honored Fathers of the American Church."⁵³

Bishop Elliott is an example of foresight and perseverance, of broad sympathy, of great consecration, of a tolerant and charitable spirit, and of a buoyant nature. His biographer Hanckel was impressed by his exceedingly happy temper, "which so often brought the healing of life to the sad and wounded spirits of his people." He was recognised as a preacher of unusual ability; and he was a remarkably rapid and fluent writer. "The manuscript leaves of sermon after sermon of his may be turned over without detecting the slightest sign of erasure or interlineation, and with an evenness of hand as perfect as if written all at one sitting, and with one penful of ink. Certain cardinal words, such as Heart, Life, Love, and Heaven, are invariably spelt with a capital letter, as if to give them that prominence to the eye which they hold in the mind."⁵⁴

But it is as the planter of the Church in the newer sections of Georgia that he has left his most lasting testimonial. Much of the state was practically a frontier when Bishop Elliott began his episcopate; the memory of the Indian struggles was fresh. Much of the population was crude and illiterate, and sharp lines were drawn between the inhabitants of the old towns with their wealth and social conventions and the people who were gradually filling up the northern and western portions of Georgia. But the good Bishop stood as a mediator; he felt that the Church had a mission to high and low, to the humblest slave as well as to the patrician; and he responded to every call. At the beginning of the War, at least twenty-six congregations existed, some in a flourishing condition.

Nor should Bishop Elliott's influence in the cause of education be overlooked. The ill-starred venture at Montpelier illustrates how high he aimed; some forty years after his death, there were old ladies in Georgia who attributed their loyalty to the Church and their ideals of culture to the training received at the Institute. The Bishop was always interested in the planting of schools and the spread of literary activity. The University of the South rightly regards him as a founder.

⁵³*Op. cit.* p. x.

⁵⁴*Op. cit.*, pp. xxv.-xxvi.

Bishop Elliott was twice married. His first wife was Mary Barnwell, a distant cousin. The following children were born of this union:—

- (1) Stephen. He was married to a Florida lady.
- (2) Mary Elizabeth. She was married to William Carmichael. His plantation was "Deptford," just outside Savannah.

The Bishop's second wife was Charlotte Bull Barnwell, of Beaufort, South Carolina, the daughter of John Gibbes Barnwell. Their children were:—

- (3) Robert Woodward Barnwell (Elliott), first Missionary Bishop of Texas; born, Beaufort, South Carolina, August 16th, 1840; died, Sewanee, Tennessee, August 23rd, 1887. He was married to his third cousin, Caroline Elliott, of Savannah.
- (4) John Barnwell, a physician. He was married to Harriott Lucas Huger.
- (5) Esther Habersham. She was married to the Reverend Francis Asbury Shoup, formerly Brigadier General of the Confederate Army; afterwards a member of the faculty of the University of the South.
- (6) Robert Habersham, civil engineer; for years consulting engineer of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company. Died 1937.
- (7) Sarah Bull Barnwell, authoress; died, August, 1928. She wrote the following books: "The Felmeres," "John Paget," "Jerry," a life of Sam Houston, and other novels, beside short-stories.
- (8) Charlotte Barnwell. She was married to Charles McDonald Puckette.

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Working by the Holy Ghost, the only mode of gathering with Christ: being the Annual Sermon, before the bishops, clergy and laity, constituting the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, preached in St. James' Church, Philadelphia, Wednesday Evening, June 16, 1841. By the Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, D. D., Bishop of Georgia.

New-York: Published for the Board of Missions, at the missionary rooms, No. 281 Broadway. 1841. (Pp. 24).

(Journals of the Diocese of Georgia).

Journal of the proceedings of the First Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the state of Georgia: held in St. Paul's Church, in the City of Augusta, from the 24th to the 28th of February, 1823. Together with the constitution of the diocese.

Augusta: printed at the Chronicle and Advertiser office. 1823. (Pp. 20).

Journal of the proceedings of the seventeenth annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, On the 15th and 16th April, 1839.

Columbus: printed at the Georgia Argus Office. 1839. (Pp. 27).

Journal of the proceedings of the eighteenth annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of Georgia, Held in the Parish of Grace Church, Clarksville, Habersham County. On the 4th and 5th May, 1840.

Columbus: Enquirer Printing Office. 1840. (Pp. 25).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Christ Church, in the City of Macon, on the 3d and 4th of May, 1841.

Columbus: Printed at the Enquirer Office. M.DCCC.XLI. (Pp. 31).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Trinity Church, Columbus, Commencing on the 5th May, 1842.

Savannah: W. T. Williams. 1842. (Pp. 45).

Journal of the Proceedings of the twenty-first annual convention, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Christ Church, Savannah, Commencing on the 4th May, 1842.

Savannah: W. T. Williams. 1843. (Pp. 45).

Journal of the proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Commencing on the 2d of May, 1844.

Athens: Clayton & Flint, 1844. (Pp. 47).

Journal of the proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in St. Stephen's Church, Milledgeville, Commencing on the 8th of May, 1845.

Savannah: W. T. Williams. 1845. (Pp. 36).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Emmanuel Church, Athens, Ga., Commencing on the 7th May, 1846.

Marietta: Printed at the Advocate Office. 1846. (Pp. 34).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Christ Church, Savannah, Ga., Commencing on the 6th day of May, 1847.

Marietta: Printed at the Advocate Office. 1847. (Pp. 40).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia: held in St. James' Church, Marietta, Ga., commencing on the 4th day of May, 1848.

Marietta: Printed at the Advocate Office. 1848. (Pp. 40).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Christ Church, Macon, Georgia, Commencing on the 10th day of May, 1849.

Marietta, Georgia: printed at the Advocate Office. 1849. (Pp. 32).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Zion Church, Calbotton, commencing on the 9th May, 1850.

Marietta, Ga.: Hunt & Campbell, printers. 1850. (Pp. 48).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-ninth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, In the Diocese of Georgia, held in Trinity Church, Columbus, Commencing on the 8th May, 1851.

Columbus, Ga. Printed at the office of the Columbus Times. 1851. (Pp. 60).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, commencing May 6th, 1852.

Macon, Ga.: Printed by Benjamin F. Griffin, No. 10, Cotton Avenue. 1852. (Pp. 60).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Christ Church, Savannah, Commencing May 5th, 1853.

Savannah: W. Thorne Williams. 1853. (Pp. 63).

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Macon, Ga.: printed by Benjamin F. Griffin, No. 10, Cotton Avenue. 1854. (Pp. 55).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-Third Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Christ Church, Macon, commencing May 10, 1855.

Macon, Ga., printed by B. F. Griffin. 1855. (Pp. 63).

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Savannah, Ga.: George N. Nichols, Job and Book Printer, 1856. (Pp. 60).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Trinity Church, Columbus, commencing May 7, 1857.

Savannah: George N. Nichols, printer, 1857. (Pp. 60).

Journal of the Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia. Held in St. John's Church, Savannah, commencing May 6th, 1858.

Savannah: George N. Nichols, Printer. 1858. (Pp. 72).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, commencing June 1st, 1859.

Savannah, Georgia: Power Press of George N. Nichols, Corner of Bay and Drayton streets—Up Stairs. 1859. (Pp. 76).

Journal of Proceedings of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, Held in Christ Church, Savannah, commencing May 10, 1860.

Savannah: Geo. N. Nichols, Printer. 1860. (Pp. 74).

Journal of the thirty-ninth annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese, of Georgia, held in Christ Church, Macon, Commencing May 9, 1861.

Savannah: Steam press of John M. Cooper & Co. 1861. (Pp. 87).

Journal of the Fortieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in St. Philip's Church, Atlanta, Commencing May 8th, 1862.

Savannah: Steam Press of John M. Cooper & Co. 1862. (Pp. 55, 4).

Journal of the First Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in the Church of the Atonement, Augusta, commencing May 7th, 1863.

Savannah: Power Press of E. J. Purse. 1863. (Pp. 68).

Journal of the Second Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Trinity Church, Columbus, Ga., commencing May 5th, 1864.

Savannah: Power Press of E. J. Purse. 1864. (Pp. 66, 2).

Journal of the Third Annual Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in St. Paul's Church, Albany, commencing May 11, 1865, and Emmanuel Church, Athens, commencing August 10, 1865.

Savannah: Purse & Son, Printers. (Pp. 42).

Journal of the fourth annual council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in St. John's Church, Savannah, commencing May 10th, 1866.

Savannah: Purse & Son, Printers. 1866. (Pp. 77).

Journal of the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Georgia, held in Christ Church, Macon, commencing May 9th, 1867.

Savannah: Purse & Son, printers. 1867. (Pp. 82).

(The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States).

Proceedings of a Meeting of Bishops, Clergymen, and Laymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States, At Montgomery, Alabama, On the 3d, 4th, 5th, & 6th of July, 1861.

Montgomery: Barrett, Wimbish & Co., steam printers and binders, 1861. (Pp. 28).

Journal of proceedings of an adjourned convention of bishops, clergymen and laymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Confederate States of America, Held in Christ Church, Columbia, South Carolina, From Oct. 16th to Oct. 20th, inclusive, in the year of our Lord 1861.

Montgomery: Montgomery Advertiser Job Printing Office. 1861. (Pp. 45, 1).

Proposed constitution/digest of revised canons for the government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, reported to the adjourned convention of bishops, clergymen and laymen of said Church, held in Christ Church, Columbia, S. C., in October, 1861.

Columbia, S. C.: Steam power-press of R. W. Gibbes. 1861. (Pp. 61).

A calendar of the days and daily lessons of the year 1862, and a catalogue of the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Confederate States of America.

Montgomery: Advertiser Book and Job Office. 1861. (Pp. 24).

Journal of the Proceedings of the General Council of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, held in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Ga. From Nov. 12th to Nov. 22d, inclusive, in the year of our Lord, 1862.

With an appendix, containing the constitution, a digest of the canons, a list of the clergy, and of the officers of the General Council, etc.

Augusta, Ga.: Steam Press of Chronicle & Sentinel. 1863. (Pp. 216).

Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America, and Digest of the Canons adopted in General Council, in Augusta, Georgia, November, 1862.

Augusta, Ga.: Steam Power Press Chronicle & Sentinel. 1863. (Pp. 59, iii., 2).

Pastoral letter from the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church to the clergy and laity of the Church in the Confederate States of America. Delivered before the general council, in S. Paul's Church, Augusta, Georgia, Saturday, Nov. 2, 1862. (Pp. 16).

BEGINNINGS IN JAPAN

By John Cole McKim

IN 1549 Francis Xavier reached Japan. In 1859 Channing Moore Williams, a priest of the American Episcopal Mission in China, landed at Nagasaki.

Within the space of two generations after the earlier landing a large proportion of the Japanese people, variously given at from ten to fifty per cent, were accounted Christians. It seems to me quite possible that the number may have reached a fifth of the population. The number was never computed after the manner of our modern communicant and membership lists because of the workings of the feudal and family systems, and because such lists had not been thought of in mediaeval Europe. Furthermore the population of Japan was not exactly known.

It is rather more than two generations since the landing of Mr. Williams, and today the communion which Xavier's successor Jesuits represent, claims about 1/400 of the population, while that of Williams numbers 1/2000, and the total number claimed for all who profess and call themselves Christians amounts to little more than 1/200 of the people of Japan proper.

For both periods it is claimed that the influence of Christianity has been felt far beyond the lines of formal membership, and of the earlier period this is obviously true, since the influence survived the suppression of Christianity and is discernible today; but it is difficult to disentangle religious from secular phenomena because in both periods European merchants, sailors, diplomatists and others were in contact with Japan, and because the efforts of the missionaries themselves have had purely secular consequences. With regard to the later period it should be borne in mind that where statistical results have been meagre the temptation to claim intangible successes becomes very strong, and that what are claimed as religious and moral triumphs by some, (e. g. the spread of contraceptive information and "the extension of the privilege of divorce to women")¹ would not be so regarded by others.

¹RETHINKING MISSIONS: A LAYMAN'S INQUIRY AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

As regards the earlier period it must be remembered:

(1) That the missionaries were largely united as regards the philosophical and sociological consequences of their religion and that their work was largely in the hands of the Society of Jesus, whose members, yielding to none in religious zeal, were distinguished for their wide learning and for their understanding of social and political problems. Such unanimity as to why, what and how, was bound to give their work far-reaching consequences.

(2) That the Japan in which Xavier landed was divided into fiefs, (he sometimes called them "kingdoms"), enjoying a high degree of autonomy. Hence, although Christians probably never exceeded twenty per cent of the population, some of these daimiates became completely or dominantly Christian, and it was thus possible to develop the Christian State *in petto* in a Japanese setting.² This model was in many respects copied by non-Christian lords, and, with the growth of centralization, by the Shogunate itself.

Thus, by the time of the persecution, Christianity had become indigenous to parts of Japan and its teachings were being discussed throughout the Empire. Some of this discussion, particularly where the "parties of the other part" were Confucian scholars, was upon a rather high intellectual level, and there developed a tendency on the part of these scholars to claim for Confucianism all that was held to be good in Christianity.³

This must in some part account for the superiority of Japanese to Chinese Confucianism,—a superiority which shows itself in an emphasis upon the mutuality of obligation in social piety as contrasted with Chinese insistence upon the unilateral obligation of the subordinate. In China the social structure tended to correspond to a very onesided relationship between "parent and child". In Japan it came to bear more resemblance to that between "elder brother and younger brother", and the whole country became, in the words of a Seventeenth Century traveller, "a verie school of civilitie". This is of course more true to the spirit of Confucius himself: but its recovery dates from this period, and it seems quite clear that it was the Christian controversy which inspired the re-consideration of his teachings that led to it.

A great deal has been said about the suppression of Christianity during the second fifth of the Seventeenth Century. This is natural as that persecution was probably the most drastic, systematic, and certainly the most effective, in all history. But missionary writings about this have often tended to obscure the fact that this suppression was not

²cf. *THE CHRISTIAN DAIMYOS* by l'Abbe Steichen.

³cf. my article *JAPANESE REFUTATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY UNDER THE SHOGUNATE* in *THE AMERICAN CHURCH MONTHLY* of March, 1936.

immediately inspired by religious antipathy. It was due to a dread of the predatory power of the West, as represented by the King of Spain who in 1680 became king of Portugal as well, and thus personified in the Far East the whole might of Europe. For this reason the Shogun, Iyeyasu, closed the country to Europeans, and forbade community of religion with them.

However misguided⁴ as regards this last detail, this was intended to be a purely defensive measure, so that, while categorical allegiance to Christianity was sternly suppressed, there was no corresponding opposition to the spread of various moral and social ideas; especially in so far as these were adapted to their own teachings by Confucian scholars, and to a lesser extent by the leaders of the several Shinto-Buddhist syncretisms.

For such reasons as these the Japanese of the late Nineteenth Century were found, once the prohibitions had been withdrawn, to be more understanding and protective of Christian teaching than the Chinese had ever been.

During the centuries of suppression Roman Catholic missionaries maintained a precarious and sporadic foothold in the Loo Choo (Ryu Kyu) Islands, whose "king" though tributary to Japan enjoyed a large measure of autonomy. In the middle years of the Nineteenth Century, a Protestant scholar, Dr. Bettelheim, also resided there, who, being guaranteed a protection which secured the safety of his life and goods, made valuable linguistic and other studies, but was severely obstructive of evangelistic work.

Several other missionaries, including some of our own, wished to visit Loo Choo: but they made the mistake of applying to the Chinese authorities for permission: and these authorities, well knowing that their writ did not run in those islands, saved their faces by withholding it.⁵

Possibly the first Anglican service on Japanese soil was a funeral conducted by the Reverend George Jones, Chaplain of the U. S. S.

⁴*The Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans, with mother houses in Manila, founded in 1575, a constant reminder of the subjugation of the nearby Philippines, were partly responsible for this. In 1596, a Spanish galleon was stranded on the Japanese coast and its captain, wishing to overawe the officers who boarded it, boasted of the power of his king, who he said first sent missionaries to win the people, and then troops to complete their subjugation. As a matter of fact, the conquistadores had always preceded the missionaries. Furthermore, the dominant missionary influence in Japan was that of Jesuits who preached Christianity without any thought of extending foreign domination, and being mostly Portuguese would not in any case have worked for that of Spain.*

⁵Lieutenant Whiting, U. S. N., about 1859, wrote of the Chinese Empire as extending from the shores of the Caspian Sea to the isles of the Pacific and northward to the Arctic regions. Chinese claims were more grandiose even than this. Britain had been specifically described as a tributary nation in 1792 when Lord Macartney, first minister to China, was induced to perform the Kowtow. Throughout the Nineteenth Century and at the time of the Boxer trouble in 1900, all action taken by the Western Powers was described as "rebellion".

Mississippi, on March 9, 1854. Preaching aboard ship on the Second Sunday in Lent (March 12), he said, "During the past week, my brethren, we have been called upon to lay in the grave the body of one of our number . . .". He spoke appreciatively of the Samurai guard of honour which had attended the service; extolled the work of the Sixteenth Century missionaries; lamented the cruelty of the persecution which brought their labours to an end " . . . and now . . . on Thursday last . . . the solemn and impressive formula of the Episcopal Church . . . "

On November 30, 1855, the Reverend Channing Moore Williams and the Reverend John Liggins, "recently graduated from the Seminary at Alexandria", sailed from New York in the ship *Oneida* and, on June 28, 1856, arrived at Shanghai,—their unusually long voyage having caused great anxiety.

A week later, Mr. Williams was able to set himself this schedule:—Rise at 5:30; Devotions to 7:30; (Breakfast); Study Chinese 8-12; Other Studies 12-1:30; With Chinese Teacher 1:30-2:30; Dinner, &c., 2:30-3:30; Study Chinese 3:30-5; Outdoor Exercise; "The Evening is spent in reading, writing and conversation".

By the fifth of November he had committed to memory in Chinese the Creed, The Lord's Prayer, The Ten Commandments, My Duty towards God and My Duty towards My Neighbour. On the twentieth of December he read daily prayers at the opening of the Boys' School. He was priested by Bishop Boone on the eleventh of January, 1857, (Mr. Liggins was too ill to be ordained at the same time), and was immediately able to be of some help on a trip into the interior.

Early in 1858 Bishop Boone, then on leave in America, received a letter from an American naval officer, dated at "Hakodadi", Japan, 3 October, 1857. He speaks of Mr. Townsend Harris' landing as Consul General.⁶ He describes the treaty arranged and explains: "A missionary in Japan, having right of residence, has not . . . the right . . . to preach the gospel to the people. He would not be interrupted in his own worship. . . . The community of Americans" could meet for a variety of purposes, including that of "public worship . . . It is death to a Japanese to become a Christian. . . . The climate is like our own: there is no more healthy region on earth. . . . The religion of Buddha is . . . prevalent . . . but the religion of the country is Sintoo".

The Reverend Mr. Syle had gone to China with the beginning of our work there in 1844. He was a very zealous man, though often in

⁶*Mr. Harris is, of course, our famous first Minister to Japan. Owing however to some doubt about Chinese pretensions (cf. preceding footnote) he was at first Consul-General under Mr. Reed, Minister at Peking, who is spoken of as "Commissioner" in Japan.*

a rather negative way;—tending to think of his calling in terms of anti-Buddhism, anti-Confucianism, anti-Romanism, and so on. He told of many a smart brush with the Papists and enjoyed the satisfaction of thinking that he came off best in all of them. Unlike Bishop Boone, who had a very level head, he was one of the many missionaries who were duped into supporting the Tai Ping rebellion during its earlier stages.⁷

About 1856 he began to develop a chronic sore throat and the health of his wife began to fail. In 1858 he thought that a voyage to Japan might do him good, and he arrived at Nagasaki on September 20 of that year, at the beginning of an almost perfect Japanese autumn.

He found the chaplain of the U. S. S. Powhatan teaching English to a few Samurai who were to be trained as interpreters. He persuaded the United States Commissioner, (Mr. Reed, Minister to China who had come over to Nagasaki in the same ship with Mr. Syle), to ask the Governor of Nagasaki if he would not like to have someone residing there permanently to train interpreters in English. The official replied, of course through an interpreter,

"Yes, and I will provide a good house for him."

"What arrangements for wife and children?"

"Plenty of room for them."⁸

"The Consul-General, Mr. Harris," wrote Mr. Syle, "is an Episcopalian from New York, and maintains divine service at his Consulate, a Buddhist temple, every morning."

⁷*The Tai Ping rebellion began in South China about 1850 and was finally suppressed by "Chinese Gordon" in 1864. At the beginning its leaders assured the more gullible of their foreign friends that this was a pure revolt against heathen Manchu rule. In 1853 a German Protestant missionary wrote the London Times that China was on the verge of accepting Protestant Christianity. Mr. Syle and others thought at about this time that China might be completely Christianized and the Ten Commandments made the law of the land, within two years. Doubts began to torture them long before the two years were over. The Tai Ping seemed to be everywhere successful and established themselves in Nankin. But their horrible excesses, once they felt themselves secure, and their "adaptations" of "Protestant Christianity", (one of their leaders was appointed to be the Holy Christ), were disillusioning.*

⁸*This conversation with the Governor of Nagasaki becomes poignantly touching in view of Mrs. Syle's death a few months later, and of Mr. Syle's own breakdown and return home to die in 1861. It must, however, have seemed inadvisable to Bishop Boone to recommend Mr. Syle to be head of the Japan Mission, and of course it would have been very trying to him and perplexing to the Japanese to send him as a subordinate of the much younger Williams. Furthermore, while it was plainly on the cards that Japan would be further opened, the principal purpose of anticipating this was to provide time for acquiring a knowledge of the language in order to take prompt advantage of opportunities so soon as they might be offered. Mr. Syle had not been one of the best Chinese scholars in Shanghai; and he was rather too old to be set at learning yet another and even more difficult language. St. Francis Xavier had spoken of Japanese as having been invented by a "conciliabule" of devils in order to obstruct the preaching of the Faith: and Bishop Williams,—for they were both merry men,—may have agreed with him in this. But it is to be feared that Mr. Syle would have denounced it as being just another Romanish superstition!*

In March, 1859, the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions announced that under a solemn conviction of duty they had "determined to open a Mission in the Empire of Japan". This new mission must always be "in intimate connexion" with that to China and "for the present at least" under its Bishop.

Messrs. Williams and Liggins were chosen to be the first missionaries.

In sparing Mr. Williams Bishop Boone contributed the best of his younger priests to the new mission. It was also, though not very proximately, possible that Mr. Liggins would be of some use to it. He had been advised to take a trip to Japan for his health, was already there when Mr. Williams arrived, July 1, 1859, to open the mission, and had to leave before it was a year old.

The Governor's promise of a good house was faithfully kept. A spacious building, part of a temple group high above the street level upon a stone embankment, was fitted with smoke-stacks and other conveniences, so that, as Mr. Williams was not too tall for six-foot lintels, these were perhaps the most comfortable quarters which he ever occupied in Japan. Left alone there after Mr. Liggins' departure in 1860, he asked that two colleagues be sent him,—another priest and a medical man.

Meanwhile, he applied himself to the study of the language. He had landed at Nagasaki almost exactly three years after his arrival in China; but he could not hope to repeat the feat of reciting the Creed, etc., on Guy Fawkes' Day of the same year, as there had been no predecessors to supply him with translations and the old Sixteenth Century versions, of which some had been secretly kept, had not yet come to light.⁹

A medical man named Schmidt joined him in January, 1861, but returned to America the following year.

At about this time, Mr. Harris, still Consul-General, was asked: "Is it possible that the friendly bearing will be continued?"

"The Japanese will scrupulously observe all their treaty obligations and any breach of good understanding will arise from the aggressions of foreigners":—a prediction which has been verified many times since.

Mr. Harris did not in 1860 think that the anti-Christian edicts

⁹*Within two years, however, he had the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments rendered into dignified Japanese, and by the beginning of 1862 was hard at work on the rest of the Catechism. Mr. Williams was the reverse of stupid: but no amount of native ability could have enabled him to do this without the severest labor and most rigorous discipline. Modern arrivals, with all the facilities for study, such as grammars, dictionaries, primers and trained teachers which were then entirely wanting, take three years to prepare for a very elementary language test.*

would ever again be rigidly enforced: though they could not then be repealed, as the Shogunate, because of its having entered into treaty relations with foreign powers, had already excited more opposition than as it turned out it could survive; and its opponents were arousing every possible prejudice against it.

The keeping up of our missionary organization during the War Between the States was an extraordinarily creditable piece of work. Naturally, there could be no expansion: but Mr. Williams made good use of his time, mastering Japanese and giving a good deal of Christian teaching, but not baptizing any natives.¹⁰ He also acted as pastor to the growing Anglo-American congregation in Nagasaki.

Bishop Boone died at Shanghai July 17, 1864. It does not appear to be of record that he had ever carried out a visitation in Japan during the five years which had elapsed since the extension of his jurisdiction over that country. At the General Convention of 1865 Mr. Williams, who had passed his thirty-sixth birthday on July 18 of that year, was chosen to succeed him as Bishop of China and Japan. He was not the choice of the Board: Bishop Boone had spoken well of him, had chosen him to head the Japan mission, and he was the only priest in existence who was acquainted with the languages and circumstances of both the countries assigned to his jurisdiction. A great many people still thought of these countries as extending from the Caspian Sea to somewhere in the Pacific Ocean: but the Missionary District was not really very extensive, since for practical purposes it included Shanghai with a small hinterland and Nagasaki with none at all.

Bishop Williams was consecrated October 3, 1866, and, before returning to his see, attended the first Lambeth Conference.¹¹ He arrived

¹⁰Like Bishop Ken, he was "stern with himself, with others mild" and was extraordinarily concerned for the comfort and safety of those with whom he had to do. His position in Nagasaki as a protege of the Governor was such as must draw attention to all his acts. Consequently, though he prepared a number of catechumens and stood ready to baptize them in emergency, he shrank from exposing them to persecution and possible death. Roman Catholics, though they displayed a similar prudence upon occasion, administered a number of baptisms. Their considerable Japanese following and the consequent rapidity with which they were able to train a few catechists enabled them to do this without attracting too much attention from an officialdom often inclined to turn a blind eye. Even so, some of their followers suffered severely. A Presbyterian missionary baptized a man in Yokohama in 1864.

¹¹About 1850 Bishop Boone had approached the Bishop of Victoria, (Hong Kong), with suggestions looking to the division of jurisdiction between them. This was sympathetically received by the Bishop of Victoria, and was referred by him to the Archbishop of Canterbury who could not see his way to endorse it. As a matter of fact, I do not think that the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Victoria was ever defined as extending beyond the borders of the Crown Colony, but he had made occasional visitations to the English congregation at Shanghai. Victoria is listed as a colonial and not as a missionary diocese. The first English Bishop in Japan (Poole), arrived in 1883, and died in 1885. His successor, (Bickersteth: 1886-1897), was strong for Anglican unity in Japan. It was his co-operation with Bishop Williams, in the face of some C. M. S. opposition, that made the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai possible. Generally, the S. P. G. supported him in this.

in China in January, 1868, and, after making visitations and performing episcopal functions there, proceeded to Japan, where he regularly resided, visiting China only as occasion required. He preferred to live in Japan and hoped to make it his life work: but this course would in any case have seemed necessary and wise. He was the only missionary in Japan. He was noticeably junior to some of the clergy in China, and this in the Far East is a consideration of some importance. He would not have wished to force the retirement of senior priests, and it was therefore wise for him to confine himself when in China to necessary episcopal functions, letting a committee carry on the administrative work while he lived in Japan.

It is also probable that the work in China had developed tendencies and fallen into grooves with which he was not in sympathy but with which he did not feel himself competent to interfere. He, therefore, constantly urged the election of a separate bishop for China.

Bishop Williams was a cheerful man, so that it must have been very deep feeling indeed that caused him to write from Shanghai on January 15, 1868, with reference to Japan: "It comes with painful, crushing force and sinking sadness of heart that . . . I have been compelled to return entirely alone."

He incessantly urged the sending out of other priests and a medical man,—not a specialist but one well versed in the different departments of his profession. In view of the numbers of missionaries who were sent to other fields it was difficult for Bishop Williams to understand the failure to appoint any to Japan. It was believed at this time in America that life was less secure in Japan than in China, and no doubt references by the Foreign Committee to the "persecution of so-called Christians (*sc* Roman Catholics) at Nagasaki" helped to strengthen this belief. As regards missionaries it had been wholly erroneous from the moment of their admittance under treaty. What the Japanese prohibited they prevented: what they allowed they protected.¹² It is

¹²The southern Daimyo, whose territories surrounded Nagasaki, were hostile to foreigners, largely as a part of their desire to overthrow the Tokugawa Shogunate which had admitted them. Nagasaki itself however was an imperial port, and hence directly under the Shogunate so long as it administered the Emperor's temporal power. For a number of years foreigners were not allowed to reside outside these ports where they had full protection. The abolition of the Shogunate did not affect them, as local officials continued to govern them in the Emperor's name, as they had done before. The persecution referred to was the deportation from the vicinity of Nagasaki of native Christians. Owing to the conditions of Japanese life it was a severe hardship for them to be taken from their own villages and scattered among strangers; and this was exacerbated by the deportation taking place in winter, so that it resulted in many deaths of the aged and infirm. Between 1868 when the deportations began, and 1873 when the exiles were allowed to return, 2,000 out of 8,000 are said to have died, whereas the normal mortality would not have exceeded 1,700. The statement is often given an extra-sensational look by making no reference to the normal death-rate; at this time about 35/1000.

possible also that the Board was not in complete sympathy with Bishop Williams.¹³

He did, however, have a friend and admirer in the Reverend Joshua Kimber, who became a part-time secretary for Foreign Missions in 1867 while yet a deacon, thus beginning a connexion, characterized on his part by unflinching zeal and devotion, which lasted for half a century.

The Board sent Bishop Williams no one until 1873. Perhaps the "unmarried men who will remain single for at least three years", for whom the Bishop asked, were hard to find: but the Reverend A. R. Morris came out as a self-supporting missionary in 1871 and remained single for the rest of his life.

In 1869 the first missionaries of the Church Missionary Society arrived at Nagasaki, and in 1870 Bishop Williams moved to Osaka, the treaty port¹⁴ nearest to the old imperial capital at Kyoto.

Here, with Mr. Morris' help, he opened a school for boys. He was immediately impressed with the widespread literacy of Japan as contrasted with China. "There seems to be hardly a boy in the country who cannot read and write."¹⁵

Corporal punishment, then much employed in Britain and America,

¹³*In the early days of the D. & F. Missionary Society, there had been a sort of understanding that the Domestic side should be "High" and the Foreign "Low". The arrangement was complicated after the War Between the States by the setting up of yet another committee, for missions to "Freedmen". This was not "High" and it was, afterwards, amalgamated with the Domestic Committee. It would be difficult to place Bishop Williams under either of these categories as they were later understood. "Positive" would do better than any other single word to describe his position.. He sympathized with the Christians under persecution, admired their faith and constancy, and was later friendly with the Orthodox Bishop Nicolai. He said: "The Japanese Government is cruelly persecuting native Christians at the same time that it is inviting Christian missionaries to positions in connexion with educational institutions." While himself resident at Nagasaki, he refers to Dr. Verbeck of the Reformed Church in America as the only Protestant missionary at that place.*

All this was very much out of accord with the point of view of the Foreign Committee and with that of other missionaries as well as of the (English) Church Missionary Society. Several of our own missionaries in China as well as Mr. Liggins, now in America, wished Roman Catholic missionaries to be deprived of diplomatic protection. The March, 1872, number of THE CHURCH MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCER (English) said: "There should be a most distinct and earnest disclaimer made of all complicity with Rome, her doctrines and practices: 'come out of her my people that ye be not partakers of her sins' . . . We have noticed, with extreme regret, attempts on the part of our statesmen to cast the mantle of British protection over Romish missionaries."

¹⁴*Osaka had been a great port during the days of the Shogunate, when large quantities of rice from the west coast and other raw goods were brought there for handling and distribution. It was still thought of as such in 1870, but by 1880 Kobe, which was fifteen or twenty miles down the bay and beyond the bar dangerous for vessels with a draught of more than eight feet, had displaced it.*

¹⁵*Bishop Williams' contacts up to this time had been mainly with the Samurai and mercantile classes, who were all literate. In any case the adult population was at least 20% literate; ahead of most European countries of that date.*

was not introduced. All the students wore swords!¹⁶ Apart from this there could not have been much need for any *vis a tergo*, as Japanese students of that day were all eager to learn. None of them went to a mission school for fun or under compulsion.

It was an easy matter to make the religion of Christ, "the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, My Duty Towards God and My Duty Towards My Neighbour", a part of the curriculum. Not only were the missionaries of those early days in a position to lay down the terms upon which they would impart the European learning so eagerly sought: there was also an anxiety, felt by many Japanese, to find out what part if any religion had played in making Europe so formidable. Some missionaries (not Messrs. Williams and Morris) went a long way toward suggesting that good gunnery was a by-product of Protestant Christianity.

The school thus operated was effective in bringing in many catechumens and some converts, so that in addition to asking constantly for more priests and a medical man Bishop Williams began to desire the services of a Female Missionary¹⁷ in order to open a similar school for girls.

Scarcely had Bishop Williams settled at Osaka, (as near to the Capital, Kyoto, as foreigners were allowed to reside), when the government decided not to remove the administrative plant from the Shogun's former seat at Yedo, but to make it a secondary capital under the name of Tokyo (Eastern Capital).¹⁸

As Yedo (Tokyo) already had a concession set apart for foreign residence, Bishop Williams immediately set about opening work there. This he was able to do in 1873 when he received reinforcements,—two priests, Messrs. Miller and Quinby,¹⁹ both "married, with little ones", who with Dr. Henry Laning, an able physician and devoted missionary and a man after Bishop Williams' own heart, were stationed at Osaka: and three young deacons from Nashotah, Blanchet, Cooper

¹⁶Apparently, to judge from Mr. Morris' account, they wore them in the class-room. Probably he had not thought of providing sword-racks. Under the old regime Samurai students checked their swords in the school entry-way.

¹⁷Down to about 1866 they had been called "Female Assistants". At about that time "Female Missionary" made its appearance, and by 1870 it was vogue. Since then they have been called a variety of things.

¹⁸Foreigners naturally, since all diplomatic intercourse is conducted there, think of Toyko as the capital of Japan: but it is only the Eastern Capital, Kyoto is more revered by the Japanese. The enthronement and other imperial ceremonies take place there. Tokyo is a place for doing the "dirty work" of government.

¹⁹Mr. Miller was very soon transferred to China. Mr. Quinby was not very well suited to the work. He was transferred to Tokyo in 1877 and left the field a few years later. He was remembered for having built the most comfortable of the missionary residences, one at Osaka and one at Tokyo.

and Newman,²⁰ who were placed at Tokyo, where for some time they lived and studied Japanese with the newly arrived S. P. G. missionaries, Shaw, who was later Archdeacon, and Wright. Here within a short time they were joined by Bishop Williams, who, with the opening of the school, now St. Paul's University, spent most of his time there. With the election, in 1877, of Bishop Schereshevsky for China, he took title as Bishop of Yedo,—“Tokyo” having not yet worked its way into popular usage.

In 1873 the Reverend Wm. Hobart Hare resigned as General Secretary of the Board of Missions to become Bishop of Niobrara. He had been sympathetic toward Bishop Williams' “positive teaching”, and continued for many years to take a friendly and useful interest in the Japan Mission. He was succeeded by the Reverend Dr. Twing, (*ob.* 1882). During his time his sister-in-law, Miss Julia C. Emery, began her many years of service. During his time also the Reverend Joshua Kimber, one of the best of Christians and kindest of men, became a full time secretary.

Two impressions of Bishop Williams were recorded in 1873-4. The first is from the pen of the Reverend C. T. Blanchet,²¹ then a deacon, describing his first meeting upon arrival: “There he, the Missionary Bishop to China and Japan was, in his stocking feet, with his overcoat on. . . . His food was rice, fish, eggs and tea.”

The other is from the S. P. G. missionary, Mr. Wright. Speaking of assisting at “the first ordination of the Reformed Catholic Church in Japan”, i. e., the priesting of Messrs. Blanchet and Cooper, he writes of “the love and veneration which we all feel for the good and self-sacrificing Bishop . . . he is truly a worthy successor of the Apostles”.

Miss Eddy came out in 1874 and, after a little training under Mr. Morris, who could give her the benefit of his experience at St. Timothy's School for Boys, opened St. Agnes' School at Osaka with five girls. Soon she was joined by two other women, while a few more, under Mr. Blanchet, began St. Margaret's School in Tokyo.

²⁰Mr. Newman left in about a year, and Mr. Cooper, who had worked with great zeal and ability, had to leave in 1878, with “Japan head”. This convenient malady, unknown to science, has been used to cover everything from neuralgia to a desire to leave the country: but in Mr. Cooper's case it was a severe and eventually fatal attack of congestion of the brain.

²¹The retirement in 1885, at the age of forty, of the Reverend C. T. Blanchet, owing to the ill health of his wife whom he had married in 1877, was a great loss to the Mission and a tragedy for him. He was, under Bishop Williams, the founder of St. Paul's College and of St. Margaret's School, first head of both institutions, a brilliant linguist and student of all things Japanese, and a member of the first committee for the translation of the New Testament. Bishop Williams is said to have looked upon him as a possible successor. His whole heart was in Japan: but now, in middle age, he set himself to do what he could for the Church in America, filling small and middle sized parishes and dying “full of years and honour” in 1928.

Meanwhile Dr. Laning had started St. Barnabas' Hospital in Osaka.

Dr. Williams was accepted as Bishop by the American and English missionaries in Tokyo, and of necessity by the Americans in Osaka.

The C. M. S. missionaries at Osaka and elsewhere were less receptive. They were inclined to regard bishops as dignified officers of the Church of England rather than as a necessary grade in a necessary priesthood. Bishop Williams was obviously not an officer of the Church of England! It does not seem to be of record that any of their converts were confirmed before the coming of Bishop Poole in 1883.

By 1877 the work had acquired the outlines within which it was to move for the next twenty years. Bishop Williams had based the work of the American Church Mission upon two centres, the foreign concessions of Tokyo and Osaka. All of our missionaries resided in one or the other of these concessions. They opened churches and preaching places in other parts of these cities and were quite free to visit them during the day. Not until 1883 was any attempt made to go outside them, and then the few out-stations were but a few miles away. Missionaries were expected to spend their nights in the concessions except during the hot weather, when they could procure passports enabling them to go to certain mountain and shore resorts. As missionaries they could not reside regularly outside the concessions and Bishop Williams was strongly opposed to their representing themselves as being something else. Generally, the S. P. G. took the same position as did also the Roman Catholics.²²

He himself set great store by direct evangelistic work and thought that all institutions should be subordinated to this purpose and have it as their sole *raison d'être*. As soon as he could, he opened stations outside the concessions. He had opened schools because missionaries could not reside outside the concessions; because the demand for Western and particularly English teaching was so great in relation to the supply of it that missionaries could give it on their own terms; and because the students of that day were all from the class to whom the people looked for leadership. He could not have foreseen a state of affairs in which cumbersome institutions out of all proportion to evangelistic needs would, in order to obtain official favour, exclude religious instruction from their curricula.

²²St. Andrew's Mission (S. P. G.) was actually some miles from the concession in Tokyo: but this was within the law as one of its clergy was appointed chaplain to the British Legation, and thus for himself and his housemates enjoyed diplomatic immunity. Similarly Archbishop Nicolai, living at his cathedral in the Kanda ward, was chaplain to the Russian Legation and to all the Russian Consulates. The question of residence elsewhere for Orthodox missionaries never arose: as Bishop Nicolai's practice was to have no foreigners other than one or two theological teachers in his missions. He sent promising Japanese, after giving them preliminary instruction, to Russian and Greek monasteries to be trained for work in Japan. Several legations appointed Roman missionaries as chaplains.

His insistence that missionaries reside in the concessions so long as they could not honestly reside elsewhere exposed them to the enervating influences of treaty port life. He could not have foreseen the appointment by the Board of missionaries who would prove susceptible to these influences; though the development of institutional as compared with evangelistic work facilitated this. He would not have agreed with the Bishop of Calcutta who in the 1860s informed some critics that "Asceticism is no part of the Gospel system". It was a part of the Samurai ideal which inculcated hardness with elegance, and it was in keeping with this when, living in the utmost simplicity, he built the most splendid of our churches in Japan.²³ He would not have thought it contrary to the Gospel system to endure hardness as a good soldier of Christ.

However, even had he been able to foresee these untoward developments, he would almost certainly have followed the course he did as being in his opinion the only honourable one, and the only one consistent with the dignity of our religion. Other missions which followed it have been spared some of these developments. *Liberavit animam suam!*

Furthermore all that is good in the Holy Catholic Church in Japan is largely the result of his influence: and it was the honesty and sincerity of purpose informing the policy just described, that gave strength to this. The Japanese clergy whom he trained were generally true to his ideals and those of succeeding generations who were influenced by these men²⁴ are among the stalwarts of the middle-aged and younger Japanese clergy today.

²³Trinity Cathedral was, at the time of Bishop Williams' resignation, the finest and most costly of our mission buildings. It was partly destroyed in the great earthquake of 1923 and what was left of it was pulled down to make room for the expansion of St. Luke's Hospital. A much less churchly and considerably smaller building of the same name was rather expensively erected in another part of the city some years after the earthquake.

²⁴Notable among these was the Reverend Y. Sugiura, who died in 1929 after being for forty years pastor of the first church founded in Tokyo by Bishop Williams; Tokyo's "slum parish". At the time of Bishop Williams' death (late in 1910) he wrote:

"It was some thirty years ago . . . that I began to study with . . . the late Bishop C. M. Williams, and by his great efforts and an influence of his saintly character that acted upon my miserable self thirsting only for worldly fame, I was converted and baptised by the Bishop in December, 1881. In those days Christian influence in this country was very weak and almost all the students . . . were much disgusted with the religious instructions . . . When I was baptised, however, I had contrived how to surprise them by informing it . . . When the Bishop was going to preach in a chapel in Kanda, in which district many of my such anti-Christian friends were staying, I . . . persuaded them to hear this great man's sermon once . . . Having got the Bishop's permission beforehand, I spoke first and told them they were misunderstanding this true religion. By this unexpected conduct of mine, they had rather to give up their hope of me, while one of them . . . told others that he would kill me.

"Seeing such adverse circumstances . . . I thought it necessary to offer myself for the Lord's service. But for many years I could not prepare for Holy Order on account of many hindrances . . . At last, in 1888, I entered Trinity Divinity School . . ."

THE MASSACHUSETTS DIOCESAN LIBRARY AND THE PARISH HISTORIAN.*

By Ann Maria Mitchell.

SERVING as Parish Historian is inherently a delightful adventure. Our religious forebears were generally meticulous in keeping full records of their daily activities, a task which they seem thoroughly to have enjoyed. So today he who will can exhume from the rather tedious volumes in which they lie concealed accounts of pioneer adventures in Churchmanship, as interesting and exciting as are the tales of the early American patriots, familiar to every schoolboy.

This field of research is practically virgin territory in which anyone may work unhampered by precedent. The American heroes of our secular history have emerged from the tests of analytical interpretation, extending over many years of study and research, with more or less conventional personalities. It is, however, still possible to reconstruct from original sources the personalities of the heroes of the early American Church, the men who welded the scattered parishes on this side of the Atlantic into the strong and unified organization we know today.

Here is the challenge to the Parish Historian: to revivify the stories of the Fathers of the early American Church until they are of as real importance and significance to American Churchmen as are those of the patriots who founded the American nation. The information is available, awaiting interpreters; the privilege and duty of familiarity with this information is part of our churchly inheritance.

The office of Registrar of the Diocese of Massachusetts was created in 1858, when the Rev. George M. Randall was appointed to that position, which he held until 1865, when he was elevated to the office of Bishop of Colorado. The Rev. William S. Bartlett succeeded him and served until his death in 1883.

These two men had carefully preserved such papers and records as had been put in their custody, but the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, who became the third Registrar, interpreted the duties of his new office in a different manner. His first official act was to read carefully the

**Editor's Note. This story is printed with the hope that other dioceses in the Church will follow the example of Massachusetts both in building a diocesan library and the appointment of Parish Historians.*

Act of 1858, and so be able to define exactly his canonical duty. He read there that the Registrar was "to procure all such journals, files, papers, reports, copies of charters and acts of incorporation of churches and other documents, as may be of value in the history of the diocese; and all this material is to be arranged, indexed, and otherwise put in such order that it may be accessible and useful".

Dr. Slafter then took account of stock. The Diocese in 1858 had made provision for appointing a Registrar, but had neglected to provide a depository in which to care for the material he was to conserve. As a result, Dr. Slafter found the material for which he had assumed the responsibility, stored in nine different boxes and in five or six different places.

The accumulations yielded, however, very valuable material as a nucleus for our future library: a collection of MSS. letters and documents of Bishop Bass and of Bishop Parker, some dating back to 1769, when Bishop Bass was acting as missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S. P. G.), MSS. records of the official acts of Bishop Griswold for the thirty-two years of his episcopate, four MSS. folios of the diocesan conventions from the first in 1784 to 1806; also a complete set of printed reports of the diocesan conventions up to 1883; MSS. folio of proceedings of the diocesan Standing Committee from 1820 to 1833; MSS. historical sketches and records of parishes in the diocese; and, from Bishop Parker, MSS. papers from the Rev. William Clark, missionary for the S. P. G. to Dedham and Stoughton. These were a portion of the collection.

Dr. Slafter was astute enough to realize that this mass of valuable and interesting material was only a very small part of an incomparably richer supply of material, scattered through the diocese, which would be put at his disposal for the asking.

His first duty, however, was to provide a suitable depository before he began to "swell the volume" of the material to be "arranged, indexed, and otherwise put in such order that it may be accessible and useful". A room was secured from the library of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, which the trustees said probably could be spared "for a long time".

A call was sent out throughout the diocese, which then included the whole of the state of Massachusetts, appealing to the "clergy and intelligent laymen", to send material to the permanent honor of "this ancient and expanding Diocese" as part of a collection, "rich in rare and priceless historical material". In 1883, nearly one hundred years had elapsed since the first diocessan convention and nearly two

hundred since the organization of the first parish in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Three classes of material were asked for:

First. MSS. correspondence and documents, in "attics and other receptacles of rubbish", not of interest to possessors, but with a flavour of antiquity which has thus far preserved them from being turned over to the paper mill or being committed to the flames;

Second. Printed historical matter pertaining to the churches of the diocese of Massachusetts, such as sermons, pastoral letters, reports and local historical memoirs;

Third. Published works of clergy and of distinguished laymen;

Fourth. Historical material relating to churches outside the diocese of Massachusetts, whose history is so closely interwoven with ours; Church Almanacs being particularly valuable;

Fifth. Historical material from non-Episcopal Communions.

The response was prompt and gratifying, as the people of the diocese ransacked attics, closets, secretaries and cellars, and the results descended on Dr. Slafter like a mighty flood. The people of New England have always been of a saving nature, sermons and other documents all had to be written out laboriously by hand, and, once written, seemed too important to be lightly destroyed. The printed word carried great weight and the costs of printing were becoming more reasonable; so "pamphleteering" was a popular diversion. "Intelligent laymen and clergy" alike, and probably their wives, welcomed this opportunity to transfer the accumulations of years to the safekeeping of the diocese.

At the end of his first year of service, Dr. Slafter wrote a full account of his activities as Registrar, which he presented at the diocesan convention, and this report was printed in pamphlet form for general distribution through the diocese. In it, he published a list of donors and donations for the year. A similar report was written and published by him every year until his death in 1906. The Diocesan Library has a full set of these reports, and they are interesting reading.

Bundles of books were sent in, some of early date, others more modern. These were sorted, arranged and recorded. The Library now numbers between five and six thousand books. Also there were pictures and engravings of early American and English clergy, which possess great historic value. Our collection of such material is now large, and we are constantly adding to it.

The pamphlets, as they poured in, literally by the hundred, were bound together in groups of from ten to fifteen, with little attempt at classification, either chronologically or by subject. They were bound in red bindings and the tops gilded, so that they present a gay appearance on the library shelves. They are arranged in numbered series,

and have been partially indexed. The library has at present from seven to eight thousand pamphlets, bound and unbound.

Browsing around among the bound volumes of pamphlets is diverting. One takes down a volume from the shelves and nothing gives any indication as to its contents; almost any subject relative to Church history may greet you as you go through the pages. When you unearth a pamphlet relative to your particular field, you know the thrill of successful research, with none of the commonly attendant discomforts. Some day these volumes must all be ripped apart, classified, rearranged and fully indexed. The library will gain greatly in efficiency, but romance will suffer.

The MSS. material was sorted, arranged and recorded. Recently workers from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) have been employed in indexing these papers, a valuable piece of work.

Their research resulted in bringing to light two letters written by the Rev. David Livingston, African missionary and explorer, from the depths of the African jungle, to the Rev. D. G. Watt, an English clergyman with whom he carried on a long and interesting correspondence. These letters give us a more personal and intimate aspect of the great missionary explorer than is afforded us in his book of travels. Of so great interest were these letters that three broadcasts were made about them in 1937. They tell how, instead of impressing the savage tribes by acts of brute force, he trusted in the inherent kindness of his fellow-men and met only kindness in return. His weapons were spiritual.

In Dr. Slafter's first year of service, he increased the supply of diocesan Convention Journals from 689 to 1,624, with 367 duplicates to be used for the purpose of exchange. It was his ambition to have complete sets of the Convention Journals for every diocese in the United States, and this work has gone steadily on, until we now have Journals from every diocese, and in a large number of instances the collections are complete. Very recently the value of this collection has been greatly increased by the purchase of a large miscellaneous collection of Convention Journals.

Dr. Slafter did not depend on what was sent in voluntarily; he journeyed far afield in search of choice treasures for his library; he wrote letters by the score; he picked over and sorted piles of dusty rubbish in second-hand book stores and other out-of-the-way places. Many are the invaluable mementoes of our early Church history, now in our Diocesan Library, which were saved from destruction only by his untiring zeal.

The first Church magazine published in Massachusetts, July, 1820, was called *The Churchman's Repository for the Eastern Diocese*, the

name changed after six months to *The Gospel Advocate*. A full set of this publication for the first year, compiled and bound, is in the Library. The *Episcopal Register*, published from 1826 to 1830 in Middlebury, Vermont, is complete, except for one number. Dr. Slafter secured a complete file of the *Spirit of Missions*, from the first number issued in 1836, and we now have the full file up to date.

One of Dr. Slafter's earlier acquisitions was the MSS. papers of the Standing Committee of the diocese for sixty-four years, from 1820 to 1884. These were bound in thirteen folios, specially constructed with paper of Manila hemp, and the bindings "the best Turkey morocco", which, it was claimed, "would last for several centuries". Time, however, is forcing us to modify this last statement.

Particular effort was made to secure historical material pertaining to our early bishops. In 1886 Dr. Slafter secured the certificates of ordination of Samuel Parker, later second Bishop of Massachusetts, both as deacon and priest; the ordinations having taken place at St. James' Palace, Westminster, Feb. 24 and 27, 1774, and signed by the Bishop of London. He was commissioned "to perform the office of Minister or Priest in the Parish of Trinity, in Boston, or elsewhere in the Province of New England in North America". The library also acquired the certificate of his consecration as bishop. A very rare account of the proceedings in Boston at the return of Bishop Bass from his consecration in Philadelphia, the reception given in his honor, and in charge to the clergy is of great interest. The library also possesses a lottery ticket, dated from New Haven, in 1826, as authorized by statute, and entitled "Connecticut State Lottery Ticket for the Benefit of the Bishop's Fund".

A grouping of pamphlets was made under the title of *episcopiana*, which included publications by bishops or works pertaining to bishops, in all dioceses. These are in addition to the large number MSS. sermons of early American bishops, as well as papers, sermons and accounts pertaining to the English clergy of pre-Revolutionary days.

A collection of Prayer Books started by Dr. Slafter has been increased until there are now about two hundred. There are copies of all the editions of the Prayer Book for King's Chapel, including the first edition of 1785, which is very rare. There is a Prayer Book, printed in 1762, probably used during the Revolution, with prayers added in manuscript writing, which appears to be that of Bishop Parker, indicating that the book was used in Trinity Church. There is also a copy of the "proposed" Prayer Book of 1785.

During the War of the Rebellion, a Prayer Book for the use of the Confederate Churchmen was edited hastily in Virginia and sent to England for publication. The ship which brought the printed Prayer

Books back to this country was captured while attempting to run the blockade, and the Prayer Books were interned in New York until the end of the war. This was just as well, for, in the hasty editing, one prayer was overlooked, and while the Southern Churchmen were bidden to pray for the success of their troops on the battlefield, on the sea they were bidden to pray for the success of the Navy of the United States of America. The library has a copy of this Prayer Book.

Both Bishop Paddock and Bishop Brooks were deeply interested in the success of the work which Dr. Slafter had undertaken as part of his official duties and realized its great value to the diocese. Bishop Brooks, at one time, made it a rule to give one book a month to the library, and to give the Registrar ten dollars yearly to be used for the purchase of rare or valuable books, which would increase in value with the passing years. On one occasion, the Bishop sent a priced list of books from a second-hand dealer in New Jersey, directing Dr. Slafter to select such books as he desired and have the bill sent to the Bishop's office; nine books were selected.

By 1892 the diocesan office accommodations had become wholly inadequate, and the building now occupied at No. 1 Joy St. was purchased. This was an old Boston mansion, built for a private residence by Thomas H. Perkins, Jr., on a piece of land originally part of "Joy's Garden". Two connecting rooms on the third floor were assigned for the use of the library. Dr. Slafter reports that the mansion possessed a "muniment room", built of iron and steel. The library was then moved from the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge to its new quarters.

When Dr. Slafter undertook the work of Registrar, he was sixty-eight years of age, an age when most men would feel they had earned the right to retire from active life; and his life had been very active. He carried on this work with the high degree of efficiency evident from this account until his death in 1906, at the age of ninety.

He was ordained in 1844 by Bishop Eastburn. At that time there were in the diocese fifty-seven ordained clergy; at the time of his death there were two hundred seventy-three.

Dr. Slafter was a historian of note. He was a member and on the board of the Massachusetts Historical Society; a member and for two years on the council of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society; a member of the Vermont Historical Society and of the New Hampshire Historical Society; also Honorary Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain. He wrote interestingly and extensively on historical matters. When the Prince Society, an organization founded in 1858, having for its object the publishing of rare works, in print or manuscript, relating to America, was incorporated, we find Dr. Slafter's name among the incorporators. He held the office of Recording Secre-

ary, Vice President, and, from 1880 until his death, that of President. The membership list was one of high distinction.

After Dr. Slafter's death the work languished. Material continued to come in until so much had accumulated that the space available was full to overflowing; there was no room for further expansion. In 1910 the Diocesan Convention passed a resolution to refer to the Registrar, Dr. Addison, the question of giving or loaning the books either to the Massachusetts State Library or to the Boston Public Library.

It was learned that the State Library was only for legislative reference material; the Boston Public Library could not keep so large a collection together as a unit, but would have to distribute the material through the files. The diocese then awoke to the situation, and, in view of Dr. Slafter's untiring and invaluable work, vetoed any such plan as unworthy of consideration, unless it proved utterly impossible to devise a workable plan for keeping the collection intact. Three plans were suggested: first, a new or enlarged Diocesan House; second, that space be secured in the Chapter House at the Cathedral; third, that a room of sufficient size be secured in the new Library of the Episcopal Theological School.

In 1913 a room was hired in the Boston Storage Warehouse for a portion of the overflow. Then the World War was upon us and interest turned to other matters. In 1915 the collection was again stored at the Episcopal Theological School, awaiting the turn of events, while affairs of more pressing importance held the attention of the diocese.

Finally the pressure for additional space in every department became so urgent that in 1927 elaborate plans to remodel and enlarge the Diocesan House were made. These included a fireproof unit for the library to be erected as a sixth floor, a sort of pent-house arrangement.

The late Bishop Slattery worked untiringly on these plans for the additions to the Diocesan House. It was his dream to have the library properly housed in a beautiful room with a fireplace and with furnishings of distinction; a room where comfortable chairs, the books on the shelves, the current religious magazines, and large study tables should form an inviting retreat for purposes of reading, research, or merely "browsing around". He lived to see his dream realized.

The contracts were signed in June, 1928, and the contractors hoped to have the building completed in seven months. It was found that the proposed plans would carry the building to a height which would conflict with the building laws and meet with objections from the buttors. Finally it was arranged to lower the ceiling and abandon the plan of carrying the elevator up from the fifth to the sixth story. This means that visitors to the library have to walk up the last flight of stairs; this seemed to be the only solution.

The room, when finally reached, is, however, a delight. It faces the South and West, is flooded with sunshine, with a view extending to the Blue Hills of Milton and over the Charles River Basin to Brookline. An oriental rug, twenty-four feet by twelve, made by the Kurds of southern Persia, in the Shah Abbas design, is on the floor, a gift to the new library. At one time this rug was much larger, experts say, twenty feet wide, and the length in proportion. The rug is known as the "Iron rug of the East", and, as originally made, its value was several thousands of dollars.

There is a roomy fireplace, and over it hangs a portrait painting of Bishop Brooks. There is a variety of chairs, some of historic value, two of these formerly owned by Bishop Brooks and presented to the library by his two brothers, and other chairs of less value but extremely comfortable. There are old chests, desks and tables, each with its history. The library has recently acquired a glass showcase, in which small articles may be kept on exhibition, the exhibit being changed from time to time. The library is indeed a delightful place in which to linger and refresh one's soul.

A trained librarian was soon found indispensable, both to keep the mass of accumulated material in order and readily accessible, and also to care for the incoming material. In 1933 Miss Ruth Alexander, a Simmons graduate, was appointed Librarian, but, unfortunately, funds permitted her employment for only half time. The volume and importance of the work is so large and so great that a diocese as outstanding as that of Massachusetts needs the services of a full time librarian.

The Diocesan Convention appointed a Library Committee to confer with the Registrar, Dr. John W. Suter, about the best methods of extending the usefulness of the library. As a result a canon was enacted in 1935, which decrees that the rector of each parish shall appoint a Parish Historian, and that each parish, through the Parish Historian, shall see that the Diocesan Library is supplied with all publications, pictures, weekly leaflets, if any, printed sermons, newspaper articles, any current material pertaining to the parish activities. The parish historians are to hold four yearly meetings and are members of the Library Committee. Prof. Joseph H. Beale, of the Harvard Law School, was made chairman of the Library Committee.

Many of the clergy responded promptly and notified the Librarian that a Parish Historian had been appointed. Most of the historians accepted their appointments seriously and some parish histories have appeared, while others are being written. Too many of the clergy, sad to say, despite the "shall" plainly printed in the canon, put off this duty until a second or third reminder from the Librarian brought them

into line. A few there are who, even yet, have not heeded the canonical "shall". We may hope the delay is because they wish to give the matter of selecting a Parish Historian careful consideration; for it is an important and responsible office. The duties of the Parish Historian are twofold; first, gathering current material pertaining to the parish and its activities; second, studying and interpreting the past with a view to writing a parish history. Because a parish is young does not mean that it may neglect appointing a Parish Historian. No parish ever yet came into existence without the concerted action of a group of men and women; no parish ever grew to maturity without its quota of struggles and difficulties, of defeats and triumphs, the taking of counsel and the formulating of policies.

As it grows, a parish develops a personality of its own; every parish has its distinctive qualities, peculiarly its own. The town of Provincetown at the tip end of Cape Cod rejoices with reason over the parish church, St. Mary's-of-the-Harbor. Though young and small, few parishes have a more distinctive place of worship. By joining forces with the summer colony of skilled craftsmen in the various arts, the parish can point to a result which, while strictly churchly, has an atmosphere in keeping with its unique New England setting.

Pre-Revolutionary Trinity Parish raised the money for its foundation by subscriptions carrying with them the right to the ownership of pews; this was distinctly an American method of procedure. The pew-holders were called the proprietors and held the governing power in the parish. This arrangement still holds in that parish.

In contrast to this, the Parish of the Advent, not yet one hundred years old, founded as a free Catholic parish, knew at the time of its founding that it faced bitter animosity. The founders took careful precautions to ensure the perpetuity of the ideals with which it came into being. The control of the parish was vested in a close, self-perpetuating corporation, a startling procedure for that time, as close corporations did not begin to become common or popular in the business world until two decades later.

It is to the Diocesan Library that the Parish Historian turns as his primary source of material. But he has, as well, his duty to the library, which is to keep it fed regularly with fresh material. A capacious filing cabinet has been installed with a folder for every parish in the diocese. Here it is expected one may turn and find information about any parish in the diocese, and this is a charge on every Parish Historian. At his service is placed the stores of general information available on the shelves and in the cupboards.

Directing one's mind to the matter of a parish history, the wealth of information is so great that it is difficult to decide what to select

and what to omit. How can one tell if an event is part of a greater religious movement or merely ephemeral. Some struggles and strifes bring in their train consequences which last for years; others, seemingly more bitter, may die down leaving no trace. It is a matter for careful judgment and discrimination.

A young parish has the advantage of being able to gather first hand material, while the older parishes must gather how and where they may. From those who remember the early, struggling days of a parish, one obtains a vividness of detailed description not available by a less direct method. Also, early documents, newspaper articles, pictures, programs, snapshots and photographs are all of importance. Follow the example of Dr. Slafter and go foraging.

If the parish has no fireproof or secure place in which to store its historical collection, it is better to deposit it in the safekeeping of the Diocesan Library. Better yet, when possible, collect duplicates and so have two depositories. An exhibition of parish historical material is sure to arouse interest, even though it be but a small one. It is interesting to see what treasures will come to light as a result.

On more than one occasion during its history, our Diocesan Library came perilously near disintegration, as this narrative clearly indicates. Our system of public libraries began early in our history and they are now firmly intrenched as an American institution; no one questions their importance and significance in the development of our national life. Our churches now possess both numbers and wealth so that our religious libraries should be equally secure, beyond the fear of assault from economic or other changes.

More books about Church history, written in easy, readable style, both for the young and for adults, can be absorbed with enjoyment by our reading public. More attention by departments of Religious Education to serious and scholarly study in the field of religious history, and of American Church history, in particular, is something to be considered. The schools of higher learning are directing the attention of students working for their doctorates to research in religious history as a fertile field for original and fruitful study.

The memorial presented at the first meeting of the diocesan convention after the death of Dr. Slafter suggested a library building, with his name over the door, as a permanent memorial of his invaluable work for the diocese. The library is already outgrowing the limits of the beautiful room, which, only a few years ago, seemed quite adequate for our needs; and more material is coming in all the time. Our library must really serve two dioceses, since that of Western Massachusetts was separated so recently that much of our material must be used in common, as our heritage is a common one. A separate fireproof building for our Library seems to be our next goal.

THE REVEREND JOHN DOTY.

1745—1841.

*By John W. Lydekker.**

JOHN DOTY was born at Albany, New York Province, on May 8, 1745. His birth occurred in the same year as the "Young Pretender's" rising in Scotland, which took place exactly thirty years before the rebellion of the American Colonies.¹ Although the celebrated "Forty-five" in no way affected John Doty's family or fortunes, yet in the succeeding generation he himself was destined to become one of the leading "Tories" who suffered for their loyalty in the Revolutionary War.

John's father, Jabez Doty, belonged to one of the oldest families in America, being descended from Edward Doten, who was one of the original *Mayflower* emigrants of 1620 and a signatory of the instrument which founded the Government of New Plymouth in that year.² Jabez Doty married Mary Ann, daughter of John Price, a lieutenant in the Queen's Fusileers stationed at New York. He was born at Plymouth on January 1, 1716, where his family had resided for nearly two hundred years.³

At the age of twenty-three John Doty entered King's College, New York, (now Columbia University), where he remained for two years, but left in the spring of 1770 without taking his degree. On May 15 he married Lydia Burling, (from whom he was subsequently divorced), and during the summer of that year he officiated at St. Peter's, Courtland Manor, near Peek's Kill in the New York Province, as a lay-reader. This church had been built in 1767, and in August (1770) a Royal Charter was issued by Lieut.-Governor Colden for the incorporation of the parish⁴ which included St. Philip's Chapel in the Highlands.

In October the Churchwardens and Vestry wrote to the S. P. G. asking that John Doty should be appointed their missionary.⁵ He himself had already sailed for England for ordination, and on October 23

*Archivist to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

¹The first battle, *Lexington*, was fought on April 20, 1775.

²*vide. Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, (Everyman ed.), pp. 24-5, Edward Doten's descendant, Jabez Doten, changed the original spelling of the name. (cf. E. Clowes Chorley, *History of St. Philip's Church in the Highlands*, pp. 64-5.)

³H. C. Stuart, *The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793*, p. 45.

⁴Chorley, *History of St. Philip's Church in the Highlands*, pp. 22, 65.

⁵S. P. G. Journal, Vol. 18, p. 475.

he was ordained deacon in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, and admitted to the priesthood in the same precincts on New Year's Day, 1771, by Dr. Philip Yonge, Bishop of Norwich.⁶

In response to the Vestry's appeal the Society had approved Mr. Doty's appointment to St. Peter's in the previous month,⁷ and in May (1771) he returned to America. A few weeks later (July 16) he was formally admitted as Rector of St. Peter's by a proclamation of Governor William Tryon.⁸

For the next two and a half years there is no mention of Mr. Doty in the S. P. G. records, but in December, 1773, he wrote the following account of his activities to the Bishop of London:

Schenectady in the Province of New York
December 19: 1773

My Lord

Your Lordship may remember that the Cure from which I received a Call to the ministerial Function, and to which, being Ordained by your Lordship, I was appointed, as well as licenses for the whole Province; was the Parish of St Peter's at Peek's Kill in the Province of New York. This Cure consists of two Congregations, viz^t that of St Peter's Church at Peek's Kill, and another (St Phillip's) about six miles to the Northward of it; both situated on the East side of Hudson's River, and about Eighteen or Twenty Leagues from New York. The former is incorporated, and St Peter's considered as the Parish Church; the latter being only a Chapel of Ease.

Col. Robinson⁹ (a Gentleman who owns some tenanted Lands near Peek's Kill) to facilitate the design of establishing the Church in those parts, made the Corporation of St Peter's an offer of the fee simple of a Farm of two hundred and one Acres of Land, as a Glebe, for the perpetual Benefit of both Congregations; provided they (the former) would pay the Tenant for his Improvement (which was estimated at about one hundred and twenty pounds Currency,) and build upon it a parsonage House. This they agreed to do, and to have the House ready for me by the beginning of the ensuing summer. But, on my Return amongst them from England (which was on the 15th May 1771) I found that they had not by any means fulfilled their Engagements with respect to the House; yet this I readily overlooked, hoping that my safe Arrival and needy Circumstances, would excite them to proceed in future with greater diligence in the Execution of their purpose: And, in the mean time, my Wife and Self were very kindly entertained

⁶*C. F. Pascoe, 200 Years of the S. P. G., p. 855.*

⁷*S. P. G. Journal, Vol. 18, p. 473.*

⁸*Chorley, History of St. Philip's Church in the Highlands, p. 71.*

⁹*This was Colonel Beverley Robinson, ancestor of Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart., Chief-Justice of Upper Canada 1829-63.*

by Col. Robinson, who was at that time one of the Wardens. Under his hospitable Roof we continued for eighteen Months; at the expiration of which time, the House being made habitable though not finished, we entered into it; and remained there until about three weeks ago, when, for reasons which I beg leave to lay before your Lordship, I removed to this Place.

Before I went to England, a Subscription was opened in the Neighbourhood of Peek's Kill, for my support, as Missionary from the Society for Propagating the Gospel &c: This Subscription amounted to about £60 Currency p. ann, a Sum much too little for my decent Support. Of this I received the first year after my Return about £49, the Second about £47, and the third £17; and that too my Lord not without much difficulty. For, though I have regularly received from the Congregation of S^t Philip's (which is very small and poor) their Part of the Annual Subscription, amounting to about £27 (except for the last five or six months) yet that of S^t Peter's was extremely diffident, especially the last year, for which I have not received two Guineas. Of this neglect I frequently complained to them, representing the great Embarrassments under which I laboured by reason of it; but to very little purpose. This early disappointment convinced me of the absolute Necessity of having some security for a living; especially as there was in reality no subscription (except from the Congregation of S^t Philip's who had renewed theirs not long after my return) I not being the Society's Missionary. Accordingly I gave Notice for a Meeting of the principal Members of the Congregation of S^t Peter's Church, on whom I chiefly depended, they being by much the largest and richest of the two; at the same time signifying the Nature of the Business to be entered upon. When the day appointed was present, I repaired to the Place of meeting, where I found about thirteen or fourteen Persons Convened. To these I proposed my difficulties, and requested, that if they were desirous of my continuing with them, they would open a New Subscription, payable to any Six or Eight of the Ablest Men amongst them, for my Support during my Residence with them as their Minister; and that when they had procured a sufficient Number of subscribers, those Six or Eight Persons should give me security jointly and severally, for the sum of £40 Cur^y p. ann, of such subscription Mony. This I judged very equitable as they themselves acknowledged, that they could raise much More than £40 p. ann by Subscription; and, as the whole of such Subscription would be transfered to them as an Indemnification. After some dispute a subscription was opened and signed by them to the amount of about £19. They then desired to have a fortnight to compleat the subscription, and give me an Answer; upon which we adjourned until that time. A few days after this I set out on a Journey of above a hundred Miles; on my return from which I was seized with a Violent and dan-

gerous fever, which reduced me very low and rendered me incapable of going abroad for Six Weeks. As soon as able, I appointed another Meeting to know what was done, when I found the Subscription very little augmented, no one having given himself any great trouble about it: Nay one of the Vestry did not hesitate to declare, that he thought £40 p. ann too much and therefore that he did not care to be very Active in Procuring it; and every one of them refused to give me any proper Security for a Living.

This, my Lord, I took extremely hard, first because the sum requested was very moderate, all my Income at Peek's Kill (had they done all I desired) not being above one half of what my Brethren and Clergy generally enjoy in America; and those of whom I requested it, very able to have secured me even £50 p. ann. Secondly because I had refused five different Offers chiefly for their sakes, knowing them to be a needy People: The two first of these Offers were made by Doctor Burton¹⁰ while I was still in London; and the other three since, by different persons, during my residence at Peek's Kill. Thirdly, because I humbly thought that My Labours amongst them merited better treatment. For besides the common Exercises of the Sabbath, and a Constant readiness at their Call, I held frequent Lectures, particularly last Winter, during which I lectured three days in the Week successively, in as many different Parts, of my Cure, to one of which I rode three miles and a half, and to another five miles; At each of Which Lectures I catechised the Youth, to the amount of about forty, in the Whole.

Upon the above mentioned refusal I was about to resign the Key to one of the Wardens (who was then present,) when it was proposed to adjourn for a few days, to consider further above it, which I consented to; yet resigned conditionally, Viz^t that if by such time they did not agree to give me proper Security, I was no longer their Minister. At the time appointed they met again, and after much altercation, sent two of their Company to inform me, that they were willing to give me Security for a Living during three years, but no longer. This proposal I thought unreasonable, and therefore refused it; and having offered myself to the Congregation of St Philip's, they through their Poverty, were obliged to decline it: upon which I accepted of a Call given me a few days before by the Church at this Place (Schenectady), and in a short time after left Peek's Kill with a heavy heart, though blessed be God! with a good Conscience.

These Reasons I hope will be esteemed sufficient to justify my Conduct to your Lordship, for which purpose I have been so particular in laying them before you; and because I think it a duty incumbent upon me to Acquaint your Lordship with

¹⁰*i. e. the Rev. Daniel Burton, D. D., Secretary of the S. P. G. from 1761 to 1773.*

my removal, though in so doing I have not transgressed the limits of your Licence. And I would further observe to your Lordship, that though by the ungenerous Conduct of a few Individuals, the Interest of the Church has declined at Peek's Kill; yet the far greater part of the Congregation, who are poor, are very desirous of having the Church established amongst them. And I cannot help lamenting to your Lordship their unhappy disappointment in their application to the venerable Society, by whom had there been about £40 sterl^s allowed (which I doubt not they would have allowed had it been Convenient) I could and would have willingly staid even though I should not have received one farthing from the People. Not that I could even then have lived as I humbly think one in My Character ought to live; but because I would much rather have been pinched a little, and live in the simplest Manner, than have left them; the truth of which Declaration is well known to every one who is acquainted with my Manner of living from the time that I came amongst, to the day in which I left them.

The Gentleman who has hitherto ministered in the Church at this place, your Lordship, by turning to the Society's Abstract, will find to be the Rev^d Mr Andrews. The principal Reason of his going from hence (as I have been informed) was the scantiness of his Income, which obliged him to undertake the Care of a Grammar School, the Confinement of which he said, at length impaired his Health. In the Care of this School, as well as in that of the Church I have succeeded him; and I flatter myself too, in the enjoyment of the venerable Society's annual bounty. To approve myself a person not unworthy of their Benevolence, and of your Lordship's paternal Regard, shall be the Constant Study of

My Lord,

your Lordship's most dutiful & obedient Son & Servant

John Doty

The Right Rev^d Rich^d Lord Bishop of London.¹¹

A few days before the date of this letter, the Church Wardens and Vestry of Schenectady wrote to the Society corroborating Mr. Doty's letter and asking that his appointment might be confirmed. This was agreed to, the Society resolving that Mr. Doty should receive £40 per annum towards his stipend.¹²

Meanwhile the political unrest which had fomented in the American Colonies since the passing of the Stamp act ten years before was swiftly approaching a climax, and in April, 1775, the skirmish between British regulars and colonial militia at Lexington began the Revolutionary War. In common with the other S. P. G. missionaries John Doty soon became the object of a peculiar hatred to the republicans.

¹¹S. P. G. "B" MSS., Vol. 3, No. 13.

¹²S. P. G. Journal, Vol. 20, pp. 84-5.

He was twice arrested and his Church was ransacked by the "Patriots". On the second occasion of his arrest he was taken to Albany by an armed escort and required to take an oath of neutrality. This he refused to do, but fortunately for him he had some influential friends among the republicans who procured his release.¹³ He returned to Schenectady and after several months of persecution he managed to make his escape to Montreal in October, 1777.

Under date of May 20, 1775, he writes from Montreal:

Rev^d Sir

Your very kind letter of October 28th. 1774 I received in the beginning of the following Winter; for which, on my own, and the behalf of my flock, I beg leave to return the most grateful acknowledgments. As the season was then too far elapsed to admit of writing I deferred an answer until the Spring, when I designed to have transmitted an exact account of the Mission, and to have been constant and regular in my correspondence; but the general infatuation at that time rendering it imprudent to correspond even with a private friend, I was obliged to wait for a more favourable Opportunity. After this our affairs proceeded from bad to worse, the friends of Government were persecuted in every quarter, and consequently the Church and its true members did not escape. I shall not trouble you with the illiberal treatment which myself, my congregation, and even the House of our God have received from our factious neighbours—suffice it to inform you, that having been a sorrowful witness to the various sufferings of the one, above 15 months interrupted in the divine service of the other, and twice a prisoner myself, I thought it best with the advice and consent of my people to quit Schenectady; & retire with my family into the province of Canada. This happened on the 23d of October last, shortly after the unfortunate surrender of Gen^l Burgoyne, when the rebels, softened by their successes, permitted some few persons to go where they pleased.

At my first setting out I resolved to make the best of my way for England, where I hoped to remain in peace and quietness until the troubles in America were over, but my design was unexpectedly frustrated: before I could get here the ships were all sailed, and on my arrival I was nominated to be Chaplain in His Majesty's Royal Regiment of New York, of which Sir Jn^o Johnson is Lieu^t Col Commandant; and soon after received His Excellency Gen^l Sir Guy Carleton's appointment to that Corps. By this means I am provided with present support, and my past sufferings and losses are rendered in some measure tolerable: for judge how great must have been the difficulties with which I struggled for two years and six

¹³*cf. his evidence before the Loyalist Commission in London (1783) Public Record Office, Audit Office Papers.*

months, when the price of every necessary was increased at least three fold on an average, and the ability of my Congregation to support me less than ever. The greatest prudence could not prevent my becoming involved: and when I left Schenectady, the sale of my furniture and all my money, was insufficient to discharge my debts, and to defray the expences of my journey.

For these reasons I flatter myself that the Society (whose great generosity I have already experienced) will not be displeased at my conduct in leaving my flock, (Schenectady), and taking upon me another Charge: especially since it was not my intention to desert them wholly, but only for a season: that, escaping the present storm, I might be of use to them in future. It would excite in me the most painful remorse was I in any degree to merit the displeasure of my Benefactors, who will, I hope, still consider me as their servant in Christ: and honour me with the continuance of their friendship and employment. And indeed the great affection of my people (most of whom surrounded me at my departure and with weeping eyes took their leave of me) is of itself a great inducement to my return: an event for which I wait with the utmost anxiety, and in hope of which alone I remain at present in America. I say at present—for should I, after a while, be disappointed of my hope, and have no clear prospect of a speedy reestablishment of peace and good Government, I shall still endeavour to cross the Atlantic.

Having said so much of myself, it is necessary that I now inform you more particularly of the state of my Charge. And here, that it hath been on the decline for three years past, I hardly need to acquaint you—however, I thank God for it, at least two thirds of them are yet remaining in the Parish; and these all of decent deportment, attached to their Church and zealous for their King. In the course of my Ministration, I have baptized above one hundred infants; but the most of them were brought in from the circumjacent country, in which there are many poor families who belong to the Church of England, and amongst whom I have occasionally preached & baptized. But in the Town, when I left it, the number of souls under my care (exclusive of slaves) was 59, Viz^t, 34 adults and 25 children, of the former of which 16 are Communicants, and of the latter about 12 are Catecumens: for I have made it a constant rule from the beginning, to catechise such of the children as were of sufficient age on every Lord's day afternoon, in the open Congregation, according to the Rubrick. And this practice, I hope, was not wholly in vain—I think it had a very good effect on some of the children, and I am persuaded, on the Congregation in general; the younger part of which especially was thereby at once instructed & admonished.

Nor have I been less attentive to the poor negro slaves, of which there are many in the place; and they for the most

part shamefully neglected. Soon after my settlement I opened a Catechetical Lecture for their benefit, and in a short time had about 20 pupils, of whom the diligence, attention, and improvement of the greater part made ample amends for my labours: for such as were unbaptized, on being sufficiently instructed in the Christian Faith, presented both themselves and their children for baptism, and became sober serious regular Communicants; nor have I ever had the least reason to reprove them.

On the whole, my general Register is as follows. Baptisms, from November 28th 1773 to October 19th 1777, 120 Viz^t, 93 White infants, 10 black infants; 2 White adults, 14 black adults, and one indian lad: Marriages in the same time 14; and burials, 10, Viz^t 7 children & 3 adults: so that the Congregation consists of White adults 34, black adults 20; White children 25, black children 10; total number 89 Souls—of which the White Communicants being 16, the black 11, are in all 27; and the white Catechumens 12, & the black 20, are in all 32. From this account you will readily discern the present weakness of the Congregation, which hath, in reality but four & thirty supporters; and these for the most part very poor, there being among them but nine heads of families, and of these not above four or five that are in any prosperous way of living. However, from the small number, as from good seed sown in good ground, I hope in future to see a plentiful harvest. The Town, from its situation and other local circumstances, promises to be a flourishing one; and should the present unhappy contest terminate to our wish, and the Society continue their accustomed benevolence (of which there is more need than ever) I doubt not but a few years would make the Church of England as respectable in Schenectady as in other places.

Though the length of my letter remonstrates against it I must add, that the situation of Mr. Stuart at Fort Hunter was very disagreeable when I took my flight. He had been frequently threatened, and was obliged to be very retired. A great part of his flock having joined the Royal Army, are now in this Province under the direction of Col. Claus, at whose request I have taken upon me M^r Stuarts duty to them, and have already baptized 2 Mohawk infants, and married one couple. I beg leave also to lay before you the inclosed* from my Wardens, who were obliged to write in a general and open manner, to avoid any ill consequences from rebel inspectors.

And now, Rev^d Sir, with repeated acknowledgements for past favors, I beg leave, in the humblest manner, to subscribe myself the Society's and your

Most obedient Servant in Christ

John Doty¹⁴

P. S. The Society's library I left in the hands of my Wardens.

¹⁴Letter (20 May, 1778), Doty to S. P. G., "C" MSS., (Canada).

To the Rev^d Doctor Hind.

**Schenectady in the Province
of New York North America
22^d October 1778*

Rev^d Sir

We beg leave to inform you, that the Rev^d Mr Doty, our Missionary, is, by the distress of the times, compelled to retire from his Mission into the Province of Canada, from whence he hath some thought of sailing for England: that he went with our entire knowledge and approbation; and that his conduct during his residence among us, hath been, in every respect, becoming a Clergyman. We therefore (referring you to him for a more particular account of our affairs) do recommend him to the further Notice and benevolence of the Society, whom we sincerely thank for their appointment of him, & for all other favors: and still relying on their pious and charitable care we are, with the greatest respect to them

Rev^d Sir

Your very humble Servants

*John Brown
Robt Clench*

Wardens

To the Rev^d Doctor Hind.

Soon after his arrival at Montreal Mr. Doty was appointed chaplain to the "Royal Regiment of New York", one of the loyalist units raised during the War and commanded by Sir John Johnston.¹⁵ This appointment saved him from the destitution with which he was faced, as not only was he deprived of his salary from his former parishioners but also of his 300 acre freehold estate in the township of Belvidere, New York Province, which had been confiscated by the revolutionary government.¹⁶ In a letter to the S. P. G. he wrote:

I am [now] provided with present support, and my past sufferings and losses are rendered in some measure tolerable: for judge how great must have been the difficulties with which I struggled for two years and six months, when the price of every necessary was increased at least threefold on an average and the ability of my Congregation to support me less than ever. The greatest prudence could not prevent my becoming involved, and when I left Schenectady the sale of my furniture and all my money was insufficient to discharge my debts and to defray the expence of my journey¹⁷

In the same letter Mr. Doty informed the Society that he had recently officiated to those of the loyal (Christian) Mohawks who had followed Colonel Claus¹⁸ into Canada after the appropriation of their territory by the republican forces.

¹⁵Ibid. Sir John Johnson's father, Sir William Johnson, had died in 1774.

¹⁶cf. his *Memorial to the Loyalist Commission*, London (1783) *Public Record Office, Audit Office Papers*.

¹⁷Letter, (20 May, 1778), Doty to S. P. G., "C" MSS., (Canada).

¹⁸Col. Daniel Claus was Deputy Superintendent of the Mohawks. He had married Mary Johnson, Sir William's second daughter, and was himself a member of the S. P. G. cf. J. W. Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1938) p. 153.

A few weeks later Mr. Doty accompanied his regiment to Quebec and thence to Sorel, at that time a small garrison town some fifty miles below Montreal. Before the end of the year he obtained leave to return to Montreal to resume his work among the Mohawks,¹⁹ and in his next letter (written on September 1st, 1779) he informed the Society that

Besides my Regimental Duty, I continue, according to my ability, to serve the Mohawk Congregation . . . They have a tract of Woodland allowed them for the present, about six or seven miles distant from this place [Montreal] where they have built a few temporary huts for their families, and in particular a small log house for the sole purposes of a Church and Council room. In this place I have read prayers on three different Sundays to the whole assembled Village, which behaved with apparent seriousness and devotion, and on my admonishing them to remember their Baptismal vows . . . one of their Chiefs answered for the whole, 'That they would never forget their Baptismal Obligations nor the Religion they had been educated in,'²⁰ and that it revived their hearts to find once more a Christian Minister amongst them and to meet together as formerly, for the Worship of Almighty God . . .²¹

For the next two years Mr. Doty remained at Montreal until October, 1781, when he sailed for England with his wife on a six months' leave of absence. He returned to Canada in the following Spring and again left for England in the autumn of that year (1782).²²

During this second visit he compiled a valuable minute on "*The present state of the Church in the Province of Canada*", to which he appended a very interesting estimate of the Protestant families then resident in Canada.²³

While in London Mr. Doty offered his services to the S. P. G. to work as their missionary at Sorel—although remarking that he would have preferred "to remain in this delightful country" [i. e., England].²⁴ The Society accepted his proposal and on June 12 (1784) he arrived at Quebec. After visiting the Governor, Mr. Doty proceeded to Sorel, which he reached on July 1. There being no house for his

¹⁹S. P. G. Journal, Vol. 21, pp. 497-8.

²⁰The S. P. G. had carried on a mission to the Mohawks since 1704 and by 1746 the whole tribe was at least nominally Christian. Their great chief "King" Hendrick (Thoyanoguen) who was killed at the age of 80 while fighting under Sir William Johnson against the French at the battle of Lake George in 1755, was often known as "The Protestant Mohawk". cf. Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks*, *passim*.

²¹Doty, Letter to S. P. G., "C" MSS, (Canada).

²²Chorley, *History of St. Philip's Church in the Highlands*, pp. 82-3 and S. P. G. Annual Report, 1783, p. 57.

²³The minute is recorded in full in S. P. G. Appendix to Journal A, No. 96.

²⁴*Ibid.*, No. 95.

residence, he was given accommodation in the military barracks and on the following Sunday he held his first service (in the Roman Catholic Chapel), which was attended by "Dissenters, Lutherans and Churchmen". A few weeks later the Roman Catholic priest withdrew his permission for Mr. Doty to use the chapel and he (Doty) then obtained the consent of the military Governor, Major Johnson, to convert one of the barracks into a temporary church, which accommodated upwards of two hundred persons.²⁵

Meanwhile the disastrous Revolutionary War, which had devastated the colonies for seven years, had at length terminated with England's acknowledgment of the independence of the United States in 1783. As a result the Society (under the terms of its Royal Charter) withdrew its services from the United States, the majority of its missionaries removing to Canada and other adjacent colonies. The consequent loss of a large number of their clergy gave rise to considerable apprehension in the American Church, and it is interesting to record that on October, 1784, the Church wardens and Vestry of Albany wrote to the Society that their parish having been without a minister since 1777 they had now elected Mr. Doty as their pastor, and that they hoped the Society would agree to this provided that Mr. Doty (with whom they had been unable to correspond) should himself concur. Although the request must have been somewhat embarrassing to the Society in view of its altered relationship to the Church in America, it nevertheless took the wise and courteous course of referring the matter to Mr. Doty himself.²⁶ The latter, however, declined the offer, feeling that "his duty as a Missionary [to Canada] claimed his superior regard".²⁷ The fact that Albany was John Doty's old home, where he had passed his boyhood days, probably made the invitation the more difficult to refuse, but to him the call for missionary endeavour seems to have outweighed other considerations.

In his next letter (dated September 30, 1786) Mr. Doty sent the following account to the Society:

That hitherto his labour has not been in vain. The number of actual Communicants has increased this year from 29 to 50, of which five were Catechumens from 16 to 19 years of age, and having been previously instructed several months, earnestly requested admission to the Lord's table.

That they have now a commodious Church, and conduct every part of Divine Service with decency & propriety. One of the best houses in Sorel, which cost building upwards of 150 guineas, being part of a Bankrupt's effects, Mr. Doty purchased

²⁵*S. P. G. Journal*, Vol. 24, pp. 7-8.

²⁶*S. P. G. Journal*, Vol. 23, pp. 430-1.

²⁷*Ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 218.

for only 15 guineas. He immediately repaired to Montreal, and in a little time collected above 30 guineas, which not only paid for the house, but enabled him, with the assistance of the Congregation, to finish it below after the usual form, so as to accommodate above 120 persons, and he performed divine service in it, for the first time, on Christmas day last when the house was crowded, and all present behaved with great devotion, and he administered the Sacrament to 32. That soon after this, he received a contribution of five guineas from Brigadier General Hope, their Lieut.-Governor & Comander in Chief; likewise a very good Bell, by the assistance of Capt. Barnes of the Royal Artillery; and some boards and timber from Capt. Gother Mann,²⁸ the Chief Engineer at Quebec. These liberal donations encouraged them to add a steeple to their Church, which was finished about Midsummer; and they hope in another year to compleat the inside by ceiling the upper part, and building the galleries.

The following is his Notitia for the year past: Baptised 21 Infants, 2 Adults. Communicants 50. Members of the Church, about 90. 1 Heathen, and 2 Converts. He has drawn on the Society for £50.²⁹

Mr. Doty's description of the new church at Sorel is of special interest as a record of the foundation of the first English Church in Canada.

A year later the township of Sorel was surveyed by Capt. Gother Mann, and the Governor-General, Lord Dorchester, gave Mr. Doty and his parishioners a plot of land "in a most convenient part of the Town for the purpose of building a Church", as well as an adjacent plot for a parsonage. Lord Dorchester also allocated some 60 acres "of woodland" situated a few miles from the town as a glebe, and promised his assistance in the erection of the Church.³⁰ The building was not completed, however, until nearly three years later when it was opened on Sunday, October 3rd, 1790.³¹ The church is thus described by Mr. Doty in a letter of October 15th, 1791:

It stands on the East side of the Royal Square in the centre, having the steeple in front. It is 35 feet wide by 45 feet deep, with a gallery over the door; and it is well lighted, especially by a Venetian window above the Chancel.³²

It may here be mentioned that the town of Sorel had been re-named "William Henry" as a compliment to H. R. H. the Duke of

²⁸Gother Mann (1747-1830) laid out the townships of Toronto and Sorel. He ultimately rose to the rank of (full) General in 1821. cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

²⁹*S. P. G. Journal*, Vol. 24, pp. 366-7.

³⁰*Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 42.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 334.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 407.

Clarence (afterwards King William IV), who had visited the place during his voyage to Quebec as the captain of H. M. S. *Pegasus* in 1787.

In 1793 Mr. Doty visited New York, whither he had sent his wife to recuperate from her ill-health "occasioned by the severity of the climate". Soon after his arrival he was urged by some of his former American friends to settle at Long Island as the incumbent of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn.³³ He at first accepted the invitation, but after he had tendered his resignation to the Canadian government, Lord Dorchester requested him to lay the matter before the newly-appointed Bishop of Quebec, (Dr. Jacob Mountain), who was then on his way to Canada. As a result of his interview with the Bishop, Mr. Doty decided to remain at William Henry.³⁴ In September of this year H. R. H. Prince Edward Augustus (afterwards the Duke of Kent and father of Queen Victoria) visited the town and attended a Masonic service in his capacity of Grand Master of Lower Canada, at which Mr. Doty preached the sermon.³⁵

During the years 1798-9 Mr. Doty extended his missionary activities by visiting St. Armand, a township situated some 90 miles from Sorel on the east side of Lake Champlain. Here he found an enthusiastic congregation of over a thousand persons, who belonged to the Church of England. He also journeyed to St. John's (Dorchester) "at the entrance of Lake Champlain" and to the village of L'Assumption, some 30 miles from Montreal, and he made several visits to the township of Berthier, situated on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence river.³⁶ Indeed Mr. Doty's energies seem to have increased in a remarkable manner as he advanced in years. His last letter to the Society reporting his activities (written in 1800) mentions his intention to make "another excursion further back in the woods" as "his concern for St Armand's was at end", the Bishop of Quebec having appointed a minister to that district.³⁷

In September, 1802, Mr. Doty resigned his appointment as a missionary of the Society. In a letter announcing his resignation, he made vague allusions to "the malicious and inveterate party who gave him so much uneasiness about 9 years ago, and have at last prevailed".³⁸ It is not clear for what reason Mr. Doty was being attacked, but in a letter

³³*Ibid.*, Vol. 26, p. 179.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 242-3.

³⁵Stuart, *The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793*, p. 108. Prince Edward Augustus then in command of the Royal Fusileers, had been sent to Canada in 1791. In October, 1793, he was promoted Major-General and accompanied Sir Charles Grey's force at the reduction of Martinique in the following year. cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³⁶*S. P. G. Journal*, Vol. 28, pp. 14-15.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 429.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 316.

to the Society, dated June 25, 1803, the Bishop of Quebec wrote that "a long string of charges were brought against him by the Magistrates and principal people of the town . . . and instead of meeting an examination upon them he chose to resign his Living . . .". From further statements in the Bishop's letter it would seem that he (the Bishop) considered Mr. Doty as quite unfit to continue his ministry,³⁹ but after this lapse of time and for lack of any definite evidence the Bishop's judgment can by no means be taken as conclusive.

After his resignation, Mr. Doty retired to Three Rivers, where he married Rachel Jeffery on July 28, 1819. He lived to the great age of ninety-six, his wife surviving him until March 1, 1860. In 1893 the then Rector of Three Rivers wrote that "Mr and Mrs Doty are still remembered by old residents, who speak of them as devout and honourable gentle-folk, always bearing the dignified manners and the courtly grace of a bygone age"⁴⁰—an irrefutable statement which must surely carry weight in re-establishing the character of the aged missionary.

Mr. Doty was buried in the old cemetery at Three Rivers under a simple grave-stone bearing this inscription:⁴¹

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
of
the REVEREND JOHN DOTY
who departed this life on the
23rd of November, 1841
Aged 96 years.
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁴⁰Stuart, *The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793*, p. 109.

⁴¹Chorley, *History of St. Philip's Church in the Highlands*, p. 85.

BOOK REVIEWS

What Has The Episcopal Church Done for America? By Nelson R. Burr. Holy Cross Press, West Park, N. Y. Pp. 26.

One of a series of "Problem Papers" issued by the Order of the Holy Cross. The question is answered in a clear and comprehensive summary of the manifold service rendered to all sorts and conditions of men, and is quite free from ecclesiastical partisanship. Written by a layman, it would be a great thing if it could be widely distributed among the laity.

A History of the Church of our Saviour Protestant Episcopal in Longwood, Massachusetts, From Its Founding In 1868 to 1936. Written and Compiled at the Request of the Parish Council of the Church by Herbert H. Fletcher, a Member of the Parish. Published by the Parish Council of the Church, Brookline, Massachusetts. 1936, Pp. 173.

The community of Longwood, in the town of Brookline, was founded by two brothers—William Richard and Amos Adams, sons of Amos Lawrence. To meet the spiritual needs of the community the brothers proceeded to found a parish and themselves bore the cost of erecting the church. It was consecrated by Bishop Manton Eastburn in 1868. In this beautifully printed and illustrated volume the story of its development is told in interesting fashion—told by a layman. It is interesting to note that the parish is still a close corporation, being governed by a self-perpetuating board of twenty-one. As far back as 1874 there were two women on the Board, and the method has worked so well that no change has been made. The Parish Council is to be congratulated on sponsoring this excellent History.

Doctrine in the Church of England. The Report of the Commission on Christian Doctrine Appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1922. New York: Macmillan Company. Pp. 242.

For all students of the history of Christian doctrine as generally held in the Anglican Church this volume is invaluable. The Commission, representing all schools of thought in the Church, spent fifteen years on its task. It was charged with the duty of considering "the nature and grounds of Christian doctrine with a view to demonstrating the extent of existing agreement within the Church of England and with a view to investigating how far it is possible to remove or diminish existing differences". The results are set forth in this book prefaced by an illuminating Introduction from the gifted pen of Dr. Temple, Archbishop of York. Large attention was given to those subjects concerning which there was most difference of opinion with the encouraging result of a larger measure of agreement than had been anticipated. The Report is eminently fair. Where agreement could not be reached, the fact is clearly stated, and it is noted that the removal or diminution of these differences "can only be rightly effected by the discovery of the synthesis which does justice to all of these".

E. C. C.



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BISHOP THOMAS C. BROWNELL'S JOURNAL OF HIS MISSIONARY TOURS, 1829 AND 1834

WITH NOTES BY WILLIAM A. BEARDSLEY, D. D.*

THE Board of Directors of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society at their meeting in August, 1829, requested Bishop Brownell of Connecticut to undertake a visitation through the States lying west and south of the Alleghany mountains, "to perform such Episcopal offices as might be desired, to inquire into the condition of the missions established by the Board, and to take a general survey of the country for the purpose of designating such other missionary stations as might be usefully established".

The Rev. Dr. Francis L. Hawks was designated to accompany him, but upon his withdrawal, the Rev. William Richmond, of New York, was sent in his place. Bishop Brownell kept a Journal of this tour, as well as of the one he made in 1834. So far as known it has never been published, though the Bishop made a rather full report of his journey, which was published in the Quarterly Paper of the Missionary Society, and republished in the *Episcopal Watchman*. The Bishop again went to New Orleans in 1836 to consecrate their new church. He was gone five months, but no mention is made of this visit in his Journal.

On the first journey he had thirty-four baptisms, confirmed one hundred and forty-two persons, consecrated six churches and admitted one person to the holy order of the priesthood. On his second journey he had ten baptisms, confirmed sixty-two persons and consecrated one church.

ITINERARY—NOTES 1829

Left Philadelphia Nov^r 12th and went to Lancaster, 64 miles. Country delightful—Soil fine for wheat and all other grain—everything

*Registrar of the diocese of Connecticut and rector emeritus of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven. Contributor to Dictionary of American Biography and HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Ed. Note.

substantial, Stone Houses, Barns & other outhouses—everything white-washed, buildings and fences contiguous—picturesque, in contrast with green fields of Wheat, and the brown forests and pastures—numerous heavy Waggons, and fine horses, on the road, particularly the Stage Horses.

Frequent glimpses at the great rail-road, and the canals—Great Valley remarkably fine—rode through it obliquely 20 miles—Conestoga Valley near Lancaster, also very fine. Saw but one house of public worship between Phil. and Lancaster, and but one between that place and this. Characteristics of the German Countries.

Left Lancaster 13th noon, and arrived at Harrisburg at night. Called on Rev^d M^r Reynolds¹—Next morning, visited the Capitol—fine buildings, brick should be painted—Called on the Gov. (Shultzs)*—also on M^r Peacock, M^r Gallagher &c.—In the afternoon, went to Carlisle—staid at M^r Stiles'—Dickenson College in a bad state—dissentions among the Trustees—President and Professors resigned—only 36 students remaining. Judge Stiles' Son fitting for College—probably come to Hartford.²

Started for Pittsburg monday morning—Grand view from Cove mountain, but getting dark before we crossed it. Lost a wheel going down Sideling mountain in the night. Splendid view to the east from the Allegheny ridge—arrived at the summit about sunset—saw a hundred mountains reposing beneath us—the Clouds hanging around their bases, gave the appearance of an immense sea studded with Islands. Rode three days and two nights to get to Pittsburg—broke down when within about 7 miles of the place, and had to mount the Carriage on a rail—intensely dark and rainy and no lanterns—bad pickle—arrived about 8 O'Clock, and found the Rev^d M^r Hopkins³ and his Vestry waiting for us at the Hotel. It was too late for the service notified in the Church, and M^r Hopkins had been obliged to officiate himself.—No boat going the next day, and as we had disappointed them by our delay, we felt bound to comply with their importunity to stay over Sunday—especially, as we must have otherwise have spent it on board the Boat. Took up our abode with D^r Moway—excellent family—has a Son at Emmetsburgh which he will send to W. College next year—two younger ones which may probably come to the High School.⁴—In Pittsburg, received the kind hospitalities of M^r Holdship, M^r Richardson, M^r Votes, M^r Davis &c.

¹Rev. John Reynolds.

*John Andrews Shulze, Gov. Dec. 16, 1823, to Dec. 15, 1829.

²The Bishop's hopes regarding prospective students for his College at Hartford do not seem to have been realized.

³Rev. John Henry Hopkins, afterwards first Bishop of Vermont.

⁴Does he mean the Academy at Cheshire?

Monday evening 23^d started for Cincinnati in the Pennsylvania, arrived in safety after a voyage of 3 nights & 2 days; distance 500 miles—Very agreeable & orderly set of passengers (Rev^d Mr Weller⁵ & Adderly⁶ of the Church, and Rev^d Mr Logan & Lyon, Presbyterians—Mr Brown & Lady, and Mess^{rs} Jenkins & Duffield & Mr^s Allen who had accompanied us from Lancaster) Not a word of profane language spoken, or a dram drank in our presence—Prayers every night, and Grace at Table—Run foul of by another Boat—alarm of *fire*!

At Cincinnati staid with Rev^d S. Johnston⁷—Visited and treated with great hospitality by many—e. g. Mr W^m Johnston, Mess^{rs} Sam^l & John A. Foote—Ch. Hammond, Dr Drake, Mess^{rs} Caswell, Starr, J. Butler of Ho. (sic), Smith of Derby, Maj. Gwinn, Longworth, Judge McLean &c.—Preached in the Church, and took a collection of 30 Dollars for the Mission—Advised Rev^d Mr Johnson to reunite his parish with that of Christ Ch.—Bp. Chase⁸ joined us in the morning of Saturday—we left in the evening for Louisville where we arrived the next morning at 10 OClk (Sunday the 29th)—Cincinnati very beautiful Town—gradual ascent from the river streets as wide & regular as those of Philadelphia—extensive market. Likely to be the great place of reception and distribution, the *Sensori cum commune* of the State—Canal to Dayton—quite a manufacturing town, though inferior to Pittsburg, especially in manufactures of Iron.—The College⁹ abandoned, and the building appropriated to the accommodation of several common Schools.—A Medical College of some reputation—The range of Hills on the north of the City very fine—will become the country seats of the Gentry.

At Louisville, staid at Mr Robert B. Ormsby's—Preached on Sunday—Returned numerous calls on Monday—spent the evening at Mr G. S. Butlers.—Next morning at 10 took the Steam Boat Sylph for Frankfort, on our way to Lexington, the Road (like most others in the State at this time) being impassable for Stages. Arrived at Frankfort 1st Dec^r and the next morning at 4 A. M. took the stage for Lexington, where we arrived at 12. On board the Boat, we had a motley company—several members of the Legislature, half a dozen *black-legs*,¹⁰ and a corps of Actors & Actresses—the latter the best behaved of the company—constant gambling on board, and much gross profanity. The members of the Legislature had been introduced to us at Louisville, and treated us with great attention. Col. Tebbatts, Dr Declary, & Judge

⁵Rev. George Weller.

⁶Rev. John T. Adderly.

⁷Rev. Samuel Johnson.

⁸Bishop Philander Chase.

⁹Cincinnati College, of which Bishop Chase was President for two years.

¹⁰"A notorious gambler." Webster.

James, afterwards joined us at Lexington. They were men of talents & worth.

Lexington is the Athens of the West. A fine medical school, excellent buildings, 200 students, and an able Faculty—Became acquainted with Drs Dudley, Cook, Caldwell, Short, and Richardson. The buildings of the Academical department burnt down—has 136 Students—80 of them collegians, and the remainder Grammar Scholars.—The country round, with a radius of 20 miles, the finest in the world—Hemp the staple culture, which is manufactured chiefly into cordage and Bagging.—The Society highly intelligent, yet plain and simple in their manners.—Dr. Chapmans¹¹ congregation embraces the most valuable part of it—Remember *Robert Wickliffe*, Dr Cook, Mr Hunt, Mr Morton, Mr Harper, Mr Smith Mr Smeads, Mr Warner &c.—Mr Clay, and Mr Wickliffe's Buffaloes.

Dec^r 7. Left Lexington, and in the evening arrived at Frankfort. Next morning, called on Gov. Metcalf¹²—received a visit from Mr Jn^o J. Crittenden,¹³ the most eloquent Lawyer in the State. Went with the Governor and Mr Herman to the House of Representatives—thence to the Senate, where we heard speeches from Mr Wickliffe and Mr Hardin, the two most distinguished members.—In the afternoon took the Steam Boat for Louisville, where we arrived the next morning. (9th Dec^r.)

At Louisville, I took up my residence at Mr J. S. Snead's—Pleasant family—Two Sons whom he will send to W. College in about 2 years. (Dr Cook's Son, of Lexington, will come next Spring)—Louisville the great Mart of the commerce of Kentucky—all the exports that go down the river, are shipped here, and all imports that come up the river are distributed from this place—The merchants, are devoted to their *business*. Maysville has a portion of the trade carried on with the east, through Wheeling & Pittsburg.—Kentucky a noble State—fertile soil—fine run of men.

VISITATION OF 1829: NOTES

Left Hartford Nov^r 5th 1829, in the Steam Boat, and arrived at N. York next morning. Preached in St Johns Church morning of Sunday the 8th and made a Collection of 111 Dollars for the Mission. Afternoon preached at St Anne's, Brooklyn, and collected 110 Dollars. Evening, at St George's and made a collection of 184⁷⁵—Dollars. Mon-

100

¹¹Rev. George T. Chapman, Rector of Christ Church.

¹²Thomas Metcalfe, Gov. of Kentucky 1829-1833.

¹³U. S. Senator from Kentucky, Gov. of the State, Attorney General in Fillmore's Cabinet.

day 9th Nov. proceeded to Philadelphia. Tuesday 10th met the Society's committee of correspondence at 12 O'Clock, and the Executive Committee at 4 O'Clock, and laid before them a general view of my proposed Tour, which was approved. In the evening (which was rainy) preached in St Stephen's Church, and made a Collection for the Society of about 60 Dollars. (Mr Richmond collected in Grace Ch. 231²⁵—.)

100

I brought to Philadelphia, in addition to the sums collected in N. York, 100 Dollars from Mr Newton of Pittsfield, 80 Dollars from the Rev^d Mr Potter¹⁴ of Boston, and 220 from the Aux. Society of Christ Church, Hartford. All monies in my hands I paid to Mr Lex,¹⁵ Treasurer of the Society; and took, to defray the expenses of our journey, 500 Dollars, and requested the Cashier of the U. S. Bank to transfer to my credit 300 Dollars in the Branch at N. Orleans, which he promised to do, out of moneys deposited with him by the Treasurer of the Society.

Left Philadelphia Thursday 12 Nov. and arrived at Lancaster the same evening. Mr Richmond preached in the Church, and the next morning we paid our respects to the families of Mrs Colman, & Miss Yates. Mrs C. handed me 20 Dollars for the Mission, and Miss Yates expressed her wishes to contribute. The Rev^d Mr Bowman¹⁶ took charge of the 20 Dollars, and promised to collect from Miss Y. and others, and forward the amounts to the Treasurer of the Society.

Left Lancaster Friday 13th and arrived at Harrisburg in the evening of the same day.

Left Harrisburg Saturday 14th and arrived at Carlisle same evening. Preached at Carlisle twice on Sunday.

Left Carlisle 16th and arrived at Pittsburg the evening of the 18th. Staid at Pittsburg nearly 4 days—Preached on Sunday—Mr Richmond preached in the evening, and received a collection of 36 Dollars for our Mission.

Left Pittsburg Monday evening, Nov^r 23^d and after a passage of three nights and two days, arrived at Cincinnati Thursday morning 26th—Preached in Cincinnati (Christ Church) Friday evening, and received a collection of 30 Dollars for our Mission.

Left Cincinnati, Saturday evening 28th and arrived at Louisville on Sunday morning 29th. Preached in the Church on Confirmation and gave notice of the administration of that holy Rite a fortnight hence. Monday 30th Baptized 4 Children viz. Cornelia Anne born Ap^r 1, 1828, and Charles Henry, born Oct^r 19, 1829, Children of George S. and

¹⁴Rev. Alonzo Potter, afterwards Bishop of Pennsylvania.

¹⁵Jacob Lex.

¹⁶Rev. Samuel Bowman, afterwards Bishop Coadjutor of Pennsylvania.

Cornelia W. Butler—Matilda Anne Maressie (sic.), daughter of Norman & Elizabeth Galt, born 19 Feb. 1829—and Edwin Robert Townsend, son of Tho^s H. & Elizabeth Armstrong, born Nov. 30, 1829.—

Started for Lexington Tuesday 1st Dec^r and arrived there Thursday 3^d. Preached Friday evening to a full congregation. M^r Richmond preached on Saturday evening. Sunday morning consecrated the Church, by the name of *Christ Church*, Mess^{rs} Chapman,¹⁷ Ward,¹⁸ Freeman,¹⁹ Richmond,²⁰ and Peers,²¹ being present and assisting. Being indisposed with a cold, M^r Richmond preached in the afternoon and Evening. During the evening service, I administered the Rite of Confirmation to three persons. A collection was also taken up for Missions in the west, amounting to 40 Dollars, and an order from D^r Cook for the avails of 96 copies of his Book (now in the hands of Potter of Philadelphia) estimated at 50 Dollars, and a promise of the like sum (for the society) annually, at Christmas, till withdrawn.—I gave the Rev^d D^r Chapman an Order on M^r Van Ingen (N. Y.) for 100 Prayer Books (of the 500 voted by the N. Y. Society) to be distributed by Missionaries in Kentucky.—Promised the Rev^d M^r Freeman to recommend him as a Missionary of the Society, if he would go to Shelbyville and Middletown. The Rev^d M^r Ward will perform occasional services in the vicinity of Lexington, and the Rev^d M^r Peers will officiate occasionally at Versailles. I should add that on my arrival at Lexington I received a communication from the Standing Committee of the Diocese, requesting me to perform such Episcopal services as I might find practicable.

Dec^r 7th left Lexington, on my return to Louisville—arrived at Frankfort in the evening, and the next day, at 1 P. M. proceeded on my journey in the Steam Boat—Arrived Louisville early on wednesday morning.

Spent the time between that and the ensuing Sunday (13th) in visiting (in company with the newly arrived Rector²²) most of the Episcopal families in the place, for the purpose of preparation for the proposed Confirmation. I also administered the Sacrament of Baptism to four Adults (M^r Hancock, M^r Herié, M^r Thompson & Miss Peel) and seven infants (3 of M^r Strother, 3 of M^r Thompson & 1 of M^r Herié) making in all 4 Adults, and 11 Children baptized by me in Louisville. Saturday the 12th I delivered a Lecture in the morning, on the subject of Confirmation.—Sunday the 13th I consecrated the Church, by the name of *Christ Church*, and administered

¹⁷Rev. George T. Chapman.

¹⁸Rev. John Ward.

¹⁹Rev. Silas C. Freeman.

²⁰Rev. William Richmond.

²¹Rev. Benjamin O. Peers.

²²Rev. David C. Page.

the Rite of Confirmation to 31 persons. The Rev. Dr Chapman, Mr Richmond, and Mr Paige were present on this occasion, and the Congregation was very crowded. Dr Chapman preached in the afternoon, and in the evening, the Rev^d Mr (sic) Preached a Missionary Sermon, and made a collection, in behalf of the Mission, amounting to 40 Dollars. The arrival of the new Rector at Louisville, during our visit, was very opportune, and produced much animation in the parish. This spirit was evinced in an effort made to extinguish a debt which had long been thought to press heavily on the Parish. On our suggestion, a subscription was set on foot, and within a day or two upwards of 1,200 dollars was subscribed—a sum more than adequate to the object, a liberal individual (Mr John Bustard) besides subscribing 200 Dollars to this object, proffered 300 more towards building a Steeple to the Church. I think this object will shortly be effected. The Parish of Louisville was found by us in a cold and depressed state—owing to its having been for 15 months without a Clergyman, and to the divisions which had taken place in regard to Mr Shaw,²³ the last Rector. If the new Rector shall be able to infuse a little more zeal into the members of his Church, it seems likely soon to be the most flourishing Parish in the Diocese.

There are now six Clergymen in this Diocese, and it may probably be prepared to elect a Bishop by the next meeting of the Gen. Convention.²⁴ Kentucky presents a fine field for Missionary exertions. Many of the principal inhabitants, in its larger Towns, were educated in the Church, in their early years, and there are a great many intelligent men to whom the principles of calvinism, and the extravagances of Fanaticism are offensive, who would readily embrace the principles of the Church, if presented to them under favourable circumstances.

—*Mem.* while in Louisville I advanced to the Rev^d Mr Weller²⁵ 50 Dollars from the Missionary funds collected for expenditures at my discretion.

Left Louisville the 15th Dec^r, in the Steam Boat Philadelphia, on my way to the Diocese of Mississippi. On the 19th the Boat run upon a sandbar, about 15 miles above Memphis, and was so badly grounded that we deemed it expedient to leave her. Fortunately the *Huron* came down the river, after we had been detained about 12 hours, and we availed ourselves of this opportunity to prosecute our voyage. We were fortunate in the character of our fellow-passengers in both Boats. There was no profanity or gambling, or other improper behaviour. On

²³Rev. Henry M. Shaw.

²⁴Rev. Benjamin B. Smith was elected. Bishop Brownell was one of his consecrators.

²⁵Rev. George Weller.

Sunday the 20th we had divine service on board the Boat, with all the passengers (60 or 80) for our Congregation. I read the service, and Mr R. delivered a discourse. On Tuesday the 22^d about noon, we arrived at Natches, and took up our lodgings at the public house of Col. L. Purnell. Notice was given for a lecture in the Church on Christmas-eve, but it was relinquished on account of a very heavy rain. On Christmas day, the Church was Consecrated, by the name of Trinity Church, and the holy Rite of Confirmation was administered to 19 persons. The Sacrament of the Lord's supper was also administered. On this occasion divine service was conducted by the Rev^d Mr Richmond,²⁶ and Rev^d Mr Porter,²⁷ and the invitation to Consecrate, and Sentences of Consecration were read by the Rev^d Mr Fox.²⁸

On Saturday the 26th I set out on a visit to Jefferson, and Port Gibson, accompanied by the above named Clergy, and Mr J. Foote. Went to the Plantation of Joseph Dunbar Esq. the first day. The next day (Sunday the 27th) consecrated the Church in Jefferson C^o by the name of Christ Church, and Confirmed 13 persons. The Services conducted the same as at Natches.—

Monday the 28th proceeded on horseback to Port-Gibson, and lodged at the house of Daniel Vertner Esq^r. The next day we had public worship in the Court House. Mr Richmond read service, and I preached a Sermon, and administered Confirmation to 3 persons.

Wednesday the 30th set out on our return. Arrived at the house of Mr John Foster to dinner, and at 3 O'Clock had public worship again in Christ Church, Jefferson. Mr Porter read service, and Mr Richmond preached. Three Gentlemen of this Parish (Jos. Dunbar, Jn^o Foster, & Col. James G. Wood) gave us 10 Dolls. each, making a Contribution of 30 Dollars for the objects of our Mission.

Thursday the 31st we concluded our journey back to Natches, where we arrived about 2 O'Clock, P. M. In the evening we had divine service in the Church. Mr Richmond delivered a Missionary Sermon, and made a collection of 35 Dollars, to be applied to Missions in the West.

Friday Jan^y 1st. Started in the Steamboat for St Francisville at 6 P. M. and arrived there the next day. The following day (Sunday) I preached in the new Church in that place to a large Congregation, the Rev^d Mr Porter reading the Service. [The Rev^d Mr Fox & Rev^d Mr Richmond had proceeded to Woodville to perform public worship there]—The Church at St F. is of brick, a neat edifice, and finished, all

²⁶Rev. William Richmond.

²⁷Rev. John C. Porter.

²⁸Rev. James A. Fox.

but plastering. The Rev^d Mr Bowman²⁹ officiates here with encouraging prospects of success.

Monday the 4th Jan. proceeded to Woodville on horseback accompanied by the Rev^d Mess^{rs} Bowman and Porter, and arrived in season to attend service in the evening. Mr Bowman read the service, and Mr Richmond preached. Mr Fox and Mr Richmond had held two services in the Church the preceding day—all were fully attended. On Tuesday the 5th Jan^y the Church was Consecrated by the name of St Paul's Church, the Rite of Confirmation was administered to 9 persons, and the Rev^d John C. Porter was admitted to the Holy Order of Priests.—Rev^d Mr Richmond & Mr Fox conducted the morning service, Mr Fox read the invitation, and sentence of Consecration, Mr Bowman presented the Candidate, and all joined in the laying on of hands.

On Wednesday the 6th of Jan^y we returned to St Francisville, to take passage to New Orleans.

The Church is probably regarded with less prejudice in Mississippi, than in any other part of our Country. A very large portion of the wealthy and intelligent Planters appear disposed to support its Ministry and institutions, whenever the appeal is made to them. Still the prospects of the Diocese appeared exceeding gloomy, on our arrival. The Rev^d Mr Muller³⁰ and the Rev^d Mr Wall,³¹ had just left the Diocese, and the Rev^d Mr Fox and Rev^d Mr Porter were preparing to take their departure, in company with us. But during our stay in Natches, that Congregation presented a call to the Rev^d Mr Porter, which he determined to accept.

The Parish of Natches is large, respectable, and liberal, and may pay a Clergyman 1,500 Dollars a year. It has been somewhat depressed during the difficulties in relation to the late Rector, but appears to be well united in his successor. The leading members are Dr Merrill, Dr Mercer, Mr Griffiths, Judges Turner & Quitman, Col. Huntington, Mr Ewing, Mr Purnell, Mr Merrick &c. The Church is a costly edifice of Brick, but badly arranged.

The Parish of Christ Church, Jefferson C^o is made up of a few wealthy Planters and their families. They are well-established Churchmen, and will give about 600 Dollars a year to a worthy Clergyman.—Probably they would consent to his devoting one half his time to Port Gibson [neat brick edifice]. There is no other Church in this vicinity, and it is not probable that any other denomination would think of establishing one. The chief supporters of the Church are Col. Ja^s G.

²⁹Rev. William R. Bowman.

³⁰Rev. Albert A. Muller.

³¹Rev. Spencer Wall.

Wood, Jos. Dunbar, John Foster, Mr Young, Mr Green, and Mr J. G. Wood Jr.

At Port Gibson there is no Parish organized, but several persons strongly attached to it. Mr Dan^l Vertner offered to pay 100 Dollars a year towards the support of a Clergyman, (say half the time) and to guarantee 500 a year from the place, provided he should be a man of talents & worth. Besides Mr V. the principal supporters will be Col. Jo^s Callender, Dr Magruder, Mr Greenleaf, Gen. Haring &c. It would be well that a Missionary should be sent, to divide his services between this place and Vicksburg.

At Vicksburg, the persons most attached to the Church, are Mr Turnbull, Mr Cameron, Dr Bay, Mr (sic) Smyth, & Mr Berriton.

The Parish of Woodville has a neat wooden Church, well finished, with good organ & good musick. A Clergyman should be settled between this place and Pinkneyville. Woodville could raise 400 Dollars for two thirds of his time, and P. 200 dollars for the other third. The situation of Woodville is peculiarly healthy. The principal members of the Church are Gen. Joor (sic), Judges Liddell, Randolph, and Prosser, Maj. Feltus, L. R. Marshall, Dr Eccleston, and Judge Posey.

At Pinkneyville the principal men disposed to support the Church, are Dr Young, Dr Carmichael, Capt. Mulford, Ja^s Wilson, J. T. Semple, Dr Metcalf, and Fra^s Evans.—

On our way from Jefferson to Port-Gibson, we paid a visit to the Rev^d Adam Cloud, whom we found in a very low state of health, and all united in the office of the Church for the visitation of the sick.

I should add, that on our first arrival in Mississippi, I received a communication from the Standing Committee, expressive of their gratification at my visit, and requesting that I would perform such Episcopal Offices as my stay might permit.

Arrived at New Orleans, in the Tigress, on the morning of the 8th of Jan^y in company with the Rev^d Mr Fox, and met Mr Richmond, who had proceeded from St Francisville the day before us. (Received an invitation from the Committee of Arrangements to attend the Mariner's Church, to hear an Oration in honour of Gen. Jackson and his victory—but found so few people there that it was determined to abandon the celebration.) The next morning received a visit from the Wardens and Vestry, who presented a written address expressive of their satisfaction at our visit, and requesting me to Consecrate the Church, administer the Rite of Confirmation, and perform such other offices as I might think expedient. On Sunday morning (the 10th) I consecrated the Church, by the name of Trinity Church, and delivered a discourse on the occasion. The Rev^d Mr Hull³² read prayers,

³²Rev. James F. Hull.

the Rev^d Mr Richmond read the Sentence of Consecration. The Rev^d Mr^{ss} Fox, Muller, Wall and Adderly were also present and assisting. In the afternoon, the Rev^d Mr Adderly³³ read prayers, and the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached. In the evening (as there was no provision for lighting the Episcopal Church) I accepted an invitation from the Rev^d Mr Clap and his Session to officiate in the Presbyterian Church. The Rev^d Mr Fox read Prayers. The large building contained a crowded Congregation, who joined in the services and listened to the discourse with great decorum. The Rev^d Mr Clap is an avowed Arminian, and has had some trouble on this account with the Presbytery to which he belongs. He has begun a course of reading on the subject of the Ministry and other peculiarities of the Episcopal Church, with a view of connecting himself with this body. If he shall conclude to do so, there is little doubt but the greater portion of his congregation will follow him, and that he will retain the Church in which he now officiates.³⁴

On Wednesday the 13th I delivered a lecture to the Candidates for Confirmation, which was numerously attended.—On Sunday the 17th I administered the holy rite of Confirmation (in the morning) to 64 persons, and delivered a Charge; after which the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon, and made a Collection of 212 Dollars. In the afternoon, I preached, and the Rev^d Mr Muller read prayers; and in the evening the Rev^d Mr Richmond officiated in the Presbyterian Church. All our religious Services in New Orleans were well attended. The Parish of Trinity Church appeared to be in a prosperous state. The Church is an Octagon of about 60 feet in diameter, and neatly constructed of brick. The lot on which it stands is very spacious and well situated, and it is probable that a larger edifice will be erected on it at no distant day, better suited to the wants of the large Congregation.

On Monday the 18th Jan. a Convention was held in Trinity Church, pursuant to previous notice, composed of the principal Episcopalians of N. Orleans, and other parts of the State, and a delegation from the Parish of St Francisville. At this meeting, I was called on to preside, and the Church in the State of Louisiana was regularly organized as a diocese, by the adoption of a Constitution & the election of a Standing Committee and other officers. It was also resolved that it is expedient to form a *Southwestern diocese*, to be composed of the Diocesses of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, and measures were

³³Rev. John T. Adderly.

³⁴He did not enter the Episcopal ministry.

taken to effect a meeting of Delegates from these Diocesses, to consummate the object.

The Rev^d Mr Bowman informed me while at N. O. that my visit to St Francisville had been attended with Salutary effects, and that at a meeting of the Vestry &c. the day after my departure, the sum of 1,100 Dollars was raised—a sum adequate to the payment of the debts, and the completion of the Church.

There is little doubt that Churches may be established at many places in Louisiana. The great portion of the intelligence and ability of this Country is in favour of it, and there are few prejudices against it. Judge Dutton of Plaquemine, desired me to send to his vicinity a Clergyman, (who would be willing to receive a few scholars) with an assurance that he would be liberally supported.—Mr Bradish, who lives about 40 miles below N. Orleans made to me a similar application, in his own name, and that of Mr & Mrs Osgood and others; offering himself to give 60 Acres of excellent land for a Glebe, and informing me that he and his neighbours would unite in building on it a good brick Church and a brick parsonage. The Rev^d Mr Wall, by my advice, has gone to Franklin, in the district of attakappas. I hear that Churches may be readily established at Donaldsonville, (the Capital of the State) at Alexandria, on the Red River, at (sic) on the la fourche, and doubtless there are many other promising locations. The principal people of Baton Rouge (sic) are Episcopalians, and are now supporting a Presbyterian Clergyman, for the want of one of their own Communion.

While at N. Orleans, we lodged with the Rev^d Mr Hull, and were very hospitably entertained by the principal Episcopalians of the City.—The Rev^d Mr Fox remains in the City, and may probably become assistant to the Rev^d Mr Hull. If this arrangement should not take place, he thinks of a removal to Tallahassee. In any event he has promised to visit Mr Bradishes place, and assist in the organization of a Parish there, and encourage the building of a Church and parsonage, as was proposed. The Rev^d Mr Adderly proceeds to Maryland, and the Rev^d Mr Muller accompanied us to Mobile, with a view of settling at Tuscalosa.

Left New Orleans, Wednesday Jan^y 20th in the Steam Boat Mount Vernon, and proceeded to Mobile, by the way of Lakes Ponchartrain, Borgne, and the Gulph. Arrived at Mobile Jan^y 21st in the evening, and the next morning took up our residence with Mr George Poe.—The Parish here was in a much better state than we had anticipated. The Church was built by different denominations, of whom the largest subscribers were Episcopalians; under the conditions, that the Clergy-

man should be annually called by the majority of the proprietors, till by a vote of two thirds it should be determined to what denomination it should permanently belong. For want of an Episcopal Clergyman, a Presbyterian had annually been employed, till about a year ago, when the Rev^d Mr Shaw³⁵ visited the place. He was then called, to alternate with the Rev^d Mr Murphy, their former Clergyman. At the annual meeting this year, on the 1st of Jan^y the Rev^d Mr Shaw was called, as the sole minister, with only one dissenting proprietor and with a salary of 2,000 dollars. It was supposed that two thirds of the proprietors would be ready to decide on the Episcopal character of the Church, but as some of the proprietors friendly to the measure were absent, it was thought best to defer it to another year.

On Sunday the 24th Jan^y I preached on the subject of Baptism in the morning; and on Confirmation in the afternoon, when I administered that holy rite to 26 persons. There were 19 Baptisms during my stay in Mobile—8 adults, and 11 Children. In the evening of Sunday the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon, and made a collection of 47 dollars to be expended for services in the State. This sum we paid over to the Rev^d Mr Muller, according to previous understanding. He goes to Tuscalosa and Greensburg, and we have promised to recommend him as a Missionary well qualified to receive the patronage of the general Society. We learn from Tuscalosa, that a Brick Church is in the course of erection, and is already under cover, and that the people are anxiously waiting for the services of a Missionary. We also learn from Greensburg (about 30 miles distant) that the principal inhabitants are Episcopalians; and it was arranged with some of the Gentlemen whom we met at Mobile that the Rev^d Mr Muller should devote a part of his labours to Greensburg, till further instructions. [Mem. Huntsville—Florence.]

On Monday the 25th of Jan^y according to previous notice, a Convention was held at Mobile, for the purpose of more fully organizing the Church in Alabama. It was attended by the principal Episcopalians in Mobile, and by Gentlemen from Tuscalosa and Greensburg. After the meeting was organized, a deputation invited me to the Chair. The Rev^d Mr Muller was elected Secretary. A Diocesan Constitution was adopted, and a Standing Committee and other officers elected. A resolution was also passed declaring it expedient to unite with the States of Louisiana and Mississippi for the formation of a South-western Diocese, and proposing the election of delegates for that purpose.

On Thursday evening, the 28th Jan^y we left Mobile, on board

³⁵Rev. Henry M. Shaw.

the Steam Boat Tuscumbie, and proceeded up the Alabama river, on our way to Montgomery, and the north.

On Sunday morning we arrived at Selma, and hearing that the low state of the river would render the further navigation difficult, we thought it expedient to land here. The Clergyman of the Presbyterian Church immediately called on us, and invited us to officiate in the House of worship there, which was designed to be common to all denominations. Accordingly I preached in the morning, Mr Richmond reading the service; and in the afternoon Mr (sic) performed the service and preached himself.—We spent Sunday night with Col. And^{ew} Pickens, about three miles from the village. He was formerly my fellow Collegian,³⁶ and has since been Governor of the State of South Carolina. On Monday we joined with Mr Dallas of Philadelphia, and took a carriage for Montgomery, where we arrived on Tuesday afternoon. By invitation, I officiated in the Methodist Church in that place in the evening. The service was respectably attended, though a large portion of the population of the village found a stronger attraction at the Theatre.

I ought to have mentioned that while at Mobile, we visited the grave of the lamented Judd,³⁷ the Missionary of the Society for Tuscaloosa. He died at the house of the Rev^d Mr Shaw of Mobile, and during his sickness there received every kindness and attention from the family of Mr Shaw, and from other sympathizing friends. His departure was ordered in much mercy to himself, being unattended with pain or suffering; and his resignation and christian hopes, as well as his affectionate exhortations to his friends seem to have left a lasting impression of his devoted piety, and of the triumphs of the christian faith. He was buried in the graveyard, about a mile from the city, and his body lies beside that of the late Col. King³⁸ near the eastern entrance of the grave yard, and on the right hand. It is to be hoped that the Society will order a suitable stone to be erected to mark the place of his interment.

On Wednesday morning (Feb. 3) we left Montgomery for the north, and thus completed the Tour of Visitation recommended to me by the Society.

Feby. 6th (Saturday) arrived at Milledgville; where we spent Sunday. I officiated in the Presbyterian Church (by invitation) in the morning, and Mr Richmond in the afternoon.

Monday 8th Feb^y proceeded to Augusta, where we arrived on Tuesday evening. Spent Wednesday in Augusta, and I officiated in the

³⁶*Brown University, 1801.*

³⁷*Rev. William H. Judd, who died August 7, 1829.*

³⁸*Col. William King, who died January 1, 1826.*

Rev^d Mr Smith's³⁹ Church in the evening.—Thursday morning, at 2 O'Clock, started for Savannah, and arrived there at day-light on Friday morning.—On Sunday the 14th I preached for the Rev^d Mr Neufville,⁴⁰ in the morning and afternoon, and the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon in the evening, and made a collection amounting to 92²⁰—Dollars, to be expended on Missions in the State of Georgia.

¹⁰⁰ There is a Society in Augusta, auxiliary to the Gen. Missionary Society, with Funds amounting to 1,200 Dollars, which are retained in the Savings Bank till a Missionary shall be appointed for Georgia to be aided by them. There is also a similar Society in Savannah with Funds amounting to about 1,000 Dollars, awaiting the appropriation of the Society for Missions in Georgia.

From the information we have been able to obtain, there is no doubt but two or three Missionaries might be profitably employed in Georgia. In Macon, a Congregation has been organized, but is now languishing for the want of a Minister. There are yet several Episcopal families, and there is said to be a fair opening for the establishment of a flourishing Congregation. Milledgeville, the capital of the State, is also an important Station for a Missionary. There are already a few Episcopalians in the place, and no doubt is entertained that a popular Clergyman would soon form a good Congregation. If only one Missionary can be sent, it would probably be adviseable for him to officiate alternately at Macon and Milledgeville. Another Missionary establishment is thought desirable at Athens, which is the seat of the University of Georgia.

Tuesday Feb^y 16th we left Savannah, in the Steam Boat, for the City of Charleston, where we arrived on Wednesday at 12 O'Clock. The Convention of the Diocese had just commenced its Session there, and we arrived in Season to hear the Bishop's Address.—On Sunday the 21st I officiated at St Michaels, in the morning; but was interrupted early in the discourse by the alarm of Fire, which occurred in the vicinity of the Church. In the afternoon, I preached a Missionary Sermon in St Philip's Church, and made a collection of 125 Dollars. A lady afterwards sent me 10 Dollars to add to the collection. Another Lady handed me 50 Dollars, as a "Widows Mite", from St Michael's Church.—The Rev^d Mr Richmond preached in the morning, on Missions, in St Paul's Ch. without making a collection. In the afternoon he officiated in St Michael's Ch. and in the evening, he preached the Anniversary Sermon for "Young Men's Missionary Society" in St Stephen's Church,

³⁹Rev. Hugh Smith.

⁴⁰Rev. Edward Neufville.

and made a Collection of 100 Dollars, which sum was voted as a Donation to the Gen. Missionary Society.—In addition to the above sum, Mrs Dehon⁴¹ handed us 6 Dollars, for the purpose of making her two sons members of the Society.

On Monday the 22^d at sunset, we left Charleston on our way homeward. Travelling day and night, we arrived at Raleigh on Thursday morning. Here we remained a day, for the purpose of rest, and to see the R^t Rev^d Bp. Ravenscroft, whom we had learned was dangerously ill. We found the Bishop in a very feeble and emaciated state, affording scarcely a hope of his recovery, and awaiting the time of his departure with the most perfect resignation and composure.⁴² He had caused a door to be cut in the floor of the Chancel of the Church, and his grave to be dug there, and had caused a plain pine Coffin to be made to contain his body. The calmness with which he has caused these arrangements to be made, and the strong faith and hope in which he awaits the summons for his departure cannot fail to afford a salutary lesson to all who enjoy the benefit of his example. [Mrs Freeman's contribution—2.00.]

On Friday morning, we again resumed our journey, and arrived at Richmond at 3 O'Clock on Sunday morning (28th Feb) where we spent the day. I preached for Bishop Moore in the morning, and the Rev^d Mr Richmond in the afternoon. The Bishop declined having a collection for the Society, as the Rev^d Mr Weller had obtained subscriptions there about nine months before, amounting to four or five hundred Dollars. Monday morning, at 3 O'Clock, we proceeded on our way again, and arrived at the City of Washington on Tuesday morning (March 2^d) about sunrise.

Sunday March 7th Preached a Missionary Sermon in St John's Church in the morning, and made a collection of 56—³⁰ Dollars.—In the afternoon preached in Christ Church, when a collection of 10 Dol^s was taken up for the Society, which was paid over to Mr Richmond. In the evening I preached for Rev^d Mr Johns⁴³ in Trinity Church. On the same day the Rev^d Mr Richmond preached a Missionary Sermon in Trinity Church, and made a collection of 40—⁵⁰ Dollars. In the afternoon he preached in St John's Church; and in the evening in Georgetown, where he made a collection of 10—⁵⁰ Dollars.

100

⁴¹*Widow of Bishop Dehon.*

⁴²*Died March 5, 1830.*

⁴³*Rev. Henry Van Dyke Johns.*

During our visit to Washington, we visited Alexandria and the Theological Seminary in its vicinity.

On monday the 8th I proceeded to Baltimore, leaving the Rev^d Mr Richmond at Washington. The next day I continued my journey, and arrived at Philadelphia in the evening.

Spent Wednesday the 10th in Philadelphia. Settled with the Treasurer of the Society and paid over to him the money remaining in my hands. In the evening I met the executive Committee of the Society, and recommended the appointment of the Rev^d Mr Weller as Missionary at Nashville, the Rev^d Mr Freeman, as Missionary in Kentucky, and the Rev^d Mr Muller or some other suitable person as Missionary to Tuscaloosa in Alabama. After adjournment I attended a meeting in St Paul's Church in behalf of the Greek Mission.

Thursday the 11th I proceeded to N. York. Saturday the 13th March I took the Steam Boat for Hartford, and arrived at my home the following day at 1 O'Clock.

During a journey of about 6,000 miles, performed in four Months and 9 days, I have been graciously preserved from every danger to which I may have been exposed. Nothing has occurred to mar the satisfaction of my journey, or to frustrate the benefits to be expected from it, and I have been permitted to join my family and friends again, under circumstances of the richest mercy. May I be suitably grateful for these unmerited favours, and may the great Head of the Church pour forth abundant blessings on my unworthy labours.⁴⁴

MEMORANDUM

TOUR OF 1834

Left Hartford, accompanied by Mrs B. and Sarah, on the 10th day of Nov^r 1834, on a visit to New Orleans, at the request of the Wardens and Vestry of that Parish, and with a view to the benefit of Mrs Brownells health—Spent two nights at New Haven, on our way, staying at Mr A. Heaton's—Remained in New York, at Mr Hillyer's till the 18th Nov. when we embarked on board the Ship Louisville for New Orleans. Among our fellow passengers were the Rev^d R. A. Henderson of Philadelphia, Capt. L. S. Gale and family from Newport, Mr & Mrs Lee, Mr Palmer, & Mr Boyd of N. York, Mr Fairfax Cat-

⁴⁴In "*A Sketch of the Early History of the Church in Louisiana*," printed in the *Journals of the Conventions of the Diocese of Louisiana, 1838-1842*, pp. 37-39, there is no reference to this visit of Bishop Brownell in 1829. The story begins with his visit of 1834, which was not an official visit as was that of 1829.

lett of Virginia, Mr^s Majeia (Maheia) of Mexico, Mr Greer B. Duncan of New Orleans, Mr^s Smith of Hartford, &c. &c. After a pleasant passage of 14 days, we arrived at New Orleans on the 3^d of December. The Wardens of the Church, and others met us with a cordial welcome, and conducted us to the house of Mr Lucius C. Duncan, where we were received with great hospitality and requested to consider it as our home during our residence in New Orleans.

After officiating at New Orleans five weeks, the Vestry requested that I would go to Alabama to attend the Convention and to promote measures for the organization of the South Western Diocese, agreeable to the provisions of the special Canon of the General Convention of 1832. Accordingly we took the Steam Boat for Mobile, on the 7th Jan^y 1835, but owing to a storm did not arrive till the 9th.—On Sunday the 11th I officiated in Mobile, and in the afternoon confirmed 17 persons. A meeting of the Parish was held during my visit, when a committee was appointed to take measures for building a new Church. On Tuesday evening, the 13th Jan. I took the Steam Boat for Tuskaloosa, accompanied by the Rev^d Mr Pinney,⁴⁵ and by Mr Meakings, a lay delegate to the Convention. Arrived at Tuskaloosa on Saturday the 17th. On Sunday the 18th Consecrated the Church, in the morning, by the name of Christ Church, and in the afternoon Confirmed 7 persons. Monday the 19th being the day appointed for the Convention, I preached the Convention Sermon, and after divine service took my seat as President of the Convention, under the 7th Canon of the Gen. Convention.

Returned to Mobile the 24th and preached in that place twice on Sunday the 25th Jan^y.

On the 26 Jan. took the Steam Boat for N. Orleans, where we arrived in safety on the following day.

Having understood that there was to be a special Convention of the Diocese of Mississippi, to be held at Natchez, on the 23^d of Feb^y in regard to the organization of the S. W. Diocese, I was requested by the Vestry of Christ Church to attend it. I therefore embarked on board the Steam Boat Ellen Douglass on the 19th and arrived at Natchez on the 21st—On Sunday the 22^d preached at Natchez.—Presided by request, at the Convention held on the 23^d & 24th Feb^y and left again for N. Orleans (accompanied by the Rev^d Mr Connelly⁴⁶) on the 27th.

Attended the Convention of the S. W. Diocese at N. Orleans on the 4th and 5th of March; but took no part in the proceedings, except by way of advice and information.

On Sunday the 12th April, held a Confirmation in Christ Church,

⁴⁵Rev. Norman Pinney.

⁴⁶Rev. Pierce Connelly.

when 35 persons received the imposition of hands.—On the following day I confirmed M^{rs} Baldwin (a sick lady) at her own house, together with her Son, and Nephew—making in all 38 persons confirmed.—On the Sunday following (Easter) I administered the holy Communion to 71 persons. About a fortnight previous to the Communion I requested all those who wished to receive that Sacrament for the first time to send me their names that I might confer with them on the subject. Accordingly, previous to the administration at Easter, 17 names were sent me, all of whom were enrolled as Communicants.

On Easter Monday, I wrote a Note to the Vestry, informing them of my purpose to leave the City by the first good Boat after the following Sunday. A few days afterwards a Committee of the Vestry waited on me with a complimentary Resolution of that body, containing their thanks &c. for the services I had rendered.

On my arrival in New Orleans, I found the parish much depressed and discouraged. Some members of the Congregation were attending other Churches, others were in the habitual neglect of public worship. There was also a deep-rooted difficulty in regard to the building of a new Church, and especially in regard to its location. After I had officiated a week or two the Vestry requested that I would address the Congregation on the affairs of the Parish. On the following Sunday, after Sermon, I accordingly addressed to them some conciliatory and encouraging remarks. As either of the proposed locations of the Ch. were sufficiently convenient, I endeavoured to shew them that *unanimity* was much more important than the choice between them. I inculcated the absolute necessity of building a new Church to give stimulus and animation to the Parish, and to collect a Congregation of sufficient ability to support a Clergyman of the highest character. In connexion with a new Church, I urged the call of a permanent Rector, who should command the confidence of the Parish and the respect of the public; and I suggested the expediency of immediate measures for the organization of the S. W. Diocese and the election of a Bishop, who should at the same time be the Rector of the Parish.

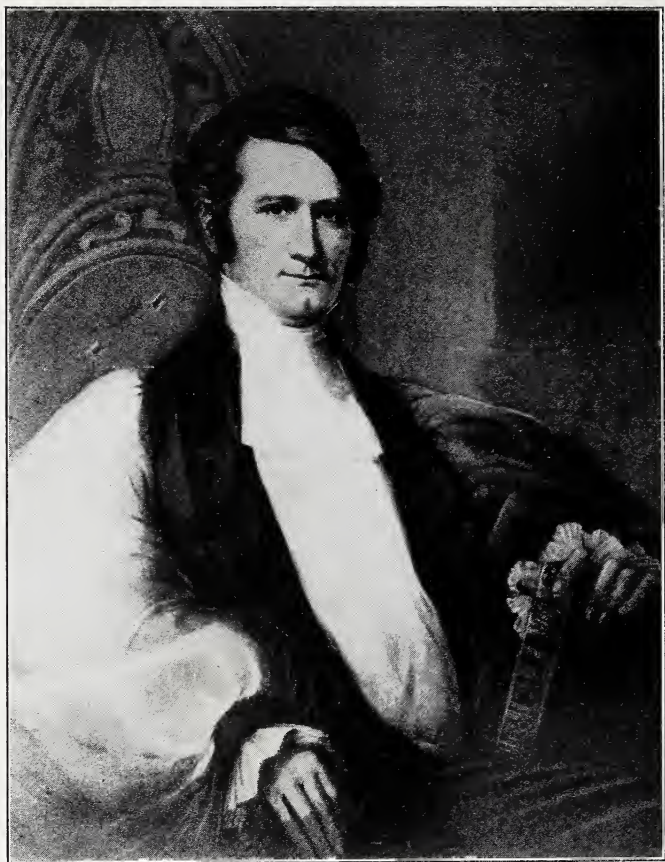
Before my departure, I had the satisfaction of seeing all these objects in a fair way of accomplishment, through the blessing of divine Providence. The Congregation had been rallied together again. The Rev^d Dr Hawks⁴⁷ had been unanimously elected Bishop of the S. W. Diocese and Rector of the Parish. The difficulties in regard to the location of a new Church had been happily settled, and the Pewholders had unanimously voted to enter on the work. Forty thousand dollars

⁴⁷Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D. He accepted, and the General Convention approved. Later Dr. Hawks declined. Nothing more came of the S. W. Diocese.

(the sum required) had been raised, and a judicious plan of the edifice had been adopted by the building Committee. I shall always feel grateful to God for the instrumentality I was permitted to exercise for the good of his Church, as well as for his blessing on my unworthy exertions; and I devoutly pray that the smiles of his favour may attend the furtherance of this good work, for without this favour nothing is perfect, nothing is steadfast.

During my brief ministry in New Orleans, which was exercised in conjunction with the Rev^d Mr Fox, till the 2^d of March, and after that alone, I preached every *Sunday* when I was in town, and also at Christmas, and Ash Wednesday, and Good Friday—Baptized 10 Infants, and two adults—Confirmed 38 persons—Administered the Lord's Supper at Christmas and Easter, and admitted 17 new Communicants. I attended only one funeral, that of Mr William Bullitt.

On Sunday, the 26th April, I took leave of the Congregation; and on the following day, at 4 O'Clock P. M. took my departure from New Orleans, in the Steam Boat Homer, for Louisville.



LEONIDAS POLK, 1839
Missionary Bishop of the Southwest

LEONIDAS POLK

BISHOP AND GENERAL

April 10, 1806 ---- June 14, 1864

LEONIDAS POLK EARLY LIFE AND PRESBYTERATE

*By William Wilson Manross, Ph. D.**

THE history of the United States, until the close of the last century, was, in a large degree, the history of westward movement. Its first phase was the discovery and exploration, by restless Europeans, of the American continents. Its second phase saw the establishment by Europeans of a permanent foothold upon the coastal plain of North America. During the eighteenth century a third phase began as the ever increasing flow of immigration from the Old World, combined with some of the descendants of earlier settlers, started pressing into the interior, gradually penetrating the mountain barrier which separates the coastland from the gigantic valley that is drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries.¹

Among the swarm of pioneers who pushed into western North Carolina during the middle years of the eighteenth century was a young man named Thomas Polk, who settled in Mecklenburg County in 1753. His family, originally called Pollock, belonged to that sturdy Scotch-Irish stock which populated so much of the plateau region, but he was probably better off than many of his companions, for his people already possessed a respectable grant of land in the colony of Maryland. Whether because of this advantage, which, perhaps, enabled him to set forth a little better equipped than others, or because of his own energy and ability, or both, he prospered in the new country and early attained to a certain amount of local prominence.²

North Carolina was always a turbulent province, and in 1772 the bitterness which existed in all the colonies between the western sections and the more settled areas along the coast flared up there into open warfare, when some of the most discontented of the westerners banded together under the name of "regulators" to resist the authority of the colonial government. Their revolt was expressive not only of resentment against the domination of the eastern counties, but also of a general dislike for the prevailing order of things, and Thomas Polk,

*Fellow and Tutor in the General Theological Seminary, and author of "*A History of the American Episcopal Church*," 1935. Ed. Note.

¹F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, New York, 1920, pp. 67-125.

²W. M. Polk, *Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General*, New York, 1915, vol. I, pp. 1-5.

as one of the more substantial members of the community, opposed them and was instrumental in putting them down.³ When, however, a more general movement developed for the assertion of colonial rights against the authority of parliament, he espoused it, and was supposed to have been one of the authors of the legendary "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" in 1775. He became an officer in the Continental Army early in the Revolution and, partly as the result of his military exploits, and partly from his success in presenting his own claims to promotion, emerged from the war with the title of general. His son, William Polk, also served throughout the struggle, and came out of it with the rank of colonel.⁴

After the treaty of peace, William Polk settled down to become, like his father, a well-to-do planter and local dignitary, serving in the state legislature and, later, as supervisor of internal revenue for the district of North Carolina. He also took an interest in the development of the extreme western part of the state, which was later to become Tennessee. He married twice, becoming the father of two children by his first wife and twelve by his second. As a trustee of the University of North Carolina, he doubtless thought it his duty to take an interest in cultural matters, and the names which he conferred upon most of his children display the sentimental classicism which was fashionable among educated people during the revolutionary and early national periods. To the son with whom we are particularly concerned, who was born in Raleigh, April 10, 1806, was given the appellation of Leonidas, expressive equally of the literary and the military interests of his sire.⁵

Of the home life of the Polks and the childhood of Leonidas we know very little, but from what we do know, it would appear that William Polk was an affectionate and conscientious father, and, as the future Bishop of Louisiana presented, in his early manhood, a fair approximation to the dashing and high-spirited southerner of tradition, it is probably safe to assume that his upbringing did not differ a great deal from that of most plantation youths. He doubtless indulged freely in various outdoor activities, especially riding and hunting, and, perhaps, fighting, and participated fully in the social life of his class, yet found time, in between pleasures, to acquire as much education as was considered necessary for a gentleman. His earliest tuition, outside of the home, as was usual in those days, was received in a local "academy"

³W. M. Polk, *Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General*, New York 1915, vol. I, p. 5; Edward Channing, *A History of the United States*, New York, 1912, vol. III, p. 122, n.

⁴Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 6-46. Most historians now agree in rejecting the authenticity of the "Mecklenburg Declaration" as traditionally represented. Channing, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 161.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 47-63.

taught by a clergyman, who prepared him for the University of North Carolina, where he matriculated in 1821.⁶

Being fifteen years old when he entered college, Polk was probably about the average age in his class, for American colleges, in the first half of the nineteenth century, both in the ages of their students, and in their curricula, bore a closer resemblance to a modern boarding school than to the colleges and universities of today. They resembled many boarding schools, also, in their theory of discipline, which consisted chiefly of the notion that if the students were kept busy enough with prescribed duties they could be kept out of mischief. At the University of North Carolina the students were expected to rise at half past five, and to spend the time from then until eight in "chapel duties and recitation". Breakfast was from eight until nine. The hours from nine to twelve were devoted to the preparation and recitation of the Greek lesson, after which one hour was allowed for "relaxation and exercise". Dinner was at one. At two they were supposed to begin the preparation of their Latin lesson, which they recited at four. Evening chapel was at five, and was followed by supper. After supper the students were allowed to relax until eight, when they were required to go to their rooms to prepare their geometry lesson for the next morning. Saturday evening was supposed to be their own, but some of this scanty leisure had to be devoted to the preparation of compositions which must be presented in class every two weeks.⁷

We have no evidence to indicate whether this rigid program had the desired effect of maintaining good order on Chapel Hill, but if it did, the University of North Carolina was a shining exception among its contemporaries, for collegiate discipline generally was then much worse than at present, lax though it often is now. Four years before Polk entered college, for instance, the students of Princeton, in a burst of exuberance, tied up all the tutors and one of the professors in their rooms, broke into the belfry at midnight, rang the college bell for twenty minutes, broke several windows, and attempted to set fire to an outhouse before they were dispersed by the professor, who had finally succeeded in untying himself.⁸ At Harvard, about the same time, the whole student body, resenting the suspension of some of their number as the result of a riot in the common, staged what would now be called a strike, by gathering under a tree, thereafter called the Rebellion Tree, and refusing to attend classes. Rain drove them from the tree, but they spent the rest of the day on the porch of University

⁶Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 63-4.

⁷Polk to his father, Mar. 10, 1823, *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁸S. S. Smith to J. H. Hobart, Jan. 18, 1817, in Morgan Dix, *History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York, New York, 1905*, vol. III, p. 143.

Hall, and the "rebellion" was only put down by "a new crop of rustications and suspensions."⁹ At Kenyon, where something of frontier crudeness still prevailed, a student in the "junior department" (really a grammar school) drew a pistol on an instructor who attempted to discipline him.¹⁰ Even thirty years later, when some students brought a live calf into a Yale classroom, they merely excited the professor to remark that he thought they had better get along with their usual number that day.¹¹

One reason for these disorders was probably the fact that the usual college program offered no healthy outlet for the physical energies of youth. An hour or two a day might be allowed for "exercise and relaxation" but the student was left entirely to his own resources in taking it, for organized athletics were unknown. In most colleges the only extra-curricular activities were the literary or debating societies, of which there were at least two in nearly every institution. They usually went by some sort of classical name, and the rivalry between them was as bitter as that between college fraternities today. They furnished their members with a pleasant social life and with a training in public speaking and literary composition that was especially valuable to the large portion of the students who were intended for the legal profession or the ministry. Societies of this sort were in existence at the University of North Carolina, and Polk apparently took an active part in them, for he wrote to his father, "The society duties are to be attended to also weekly, which are of very great importance and require their portion of time."¹²

With a general and a colonel in the family and with the name of the Spartan hero to live up to, it was natural that young Polk's ambitions should turn toward the military life. The standing army of the United States was small and had been established in the face of much opposition from those who thought that such an institution was dangerous to the liberties of a republic. Though by 1823 it had come to be accepted as a necessary evil, it was still unpopular with many of the common people, especially in the North,¹³ but to the planter class in the South, who liked to think of themselves as the American equivalent of the English aristocracy, it seemed that military service offered an appropriate career for a gentleman, and the academy at West Point, established in 1802, offered them an opportunity of embarking upon such a career without the unpleasant necessity of mingling with the plebians in the ranks.

⁹Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past*, Boston, 1926, pp. 19-21.

¹⁰Heman Dyer, *Records of An Active Life*, New York, 1886, pp. 68-9.

¹¹C. M. Depew, *My Memories of Eighty Years*, New York, 1924, p. 7.

¹²Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 67.

¹³U. S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs*, New York, 1885, vol. I, pp. 43-5.

Appointment to West Point, then as now, was a prerogative of Congressmen, and while Leonidas was in the University his father's influence was exerted to secure the coveted nomination from their representative. It was finally obtained during young Polk's second year at college, and, as a result, he left before the end of the term, partly to spend some time with his family, and partly to obtain tuition in French, as no one capable of teaching the language could be found on Chapel Hill. His appointment merely entitled him to take the stiff entrance examinations of the Academy, but these he passed without difficulty, and in June, 1823, at the beginning of the summer encampment, he became a full-fledged cadet.¹⁴

The period of Polk's cadetship was destined to be a prominent one in the history of West Point because of the distinction later attained by many who were then in the corps. Among his contemporaries were three of the most brilliant of the confederate generals, Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston and Joseph E. Johnston, and the future president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis. On the other side, in the Civil War, was Robert Anderson, the commander of Fort Sumter. Yet another contemporary, Francis Vinton, like Polk, left the army for the priesthood, and became a prominent clergyman and professor in General Seminary.¹⁵

It is indicative of Polk's ability and force of character that he became one of the outstanding leaders in this distinguished student body. He is described by one who knew him then as being "a boy of fine presence, fine form, graceful bearing, full of life, ready for anything, generous, consistent."¹⁶ Later report pictured him, in the early years of his cadetship, as something of a reveler, but this may be no more than the natural tendency to exaggerate the previous waywardness of a convert. Certainly, he was not too gay for hard work, for he maintained a high standing throughout his career, serving as staff sergeant to the commandant in his second year, and later, as orderly sergeant. His rank was lowered in his final year because of a violation of the rules governing the examination in drawing. These rules had been broken with impunity by the students for several years past, and, in attempting to revive their enforcement, the authorities punished only a few of the offenders. Polk resented this as an injustice, and, with characteristic energy, appealed to the Secretary of War, but without result. Nevertheless, in his last term at West Point he was

¹⁴Polk *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 66-9.

¹⁵William Carus, *Memorials of the Right Reverend Charles Pettit McIlvaine, D. D., D. C. L., Late Bishop of Ohio in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, New York, 1882, pp. 23-4; Morgan Dix and others, *Francis Vinton, Priest and Doctor*, New York, 1873, pp. 17-8.

¹⁶Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 74.

placed in command of the new men. He finally graduated eighth in his class.¹⁷

Religion had not played a very important role in Polk's life before he came to West Point, nor did it during the early years of his stay there. If William Polk was a religious man, he did nothing to show it. Though he did not openly scoff at Christianity, as so many of his contemporaries did, he made no effort to provide his children with a religious upbringing, and circumstances gave Leonidas little opportunity of finding elsewhere what he failed to find at home. As the planter-aristocrats, even when not religious themselves, retained the tradition that, if a gentleman were religious, he ought to be religious in the Episcopalian way, they did not, to any great extent, fall under the influence of the other denominations which were making such headway among the less prosperous classes in the South, and the Episcopal Church in North Carolina, which had never been very strong, became totally inactive after the Revolution, except for a feeble attempt, during the period of reorganization, to have its one clergyman made a bishop.¹⁸ It did not become organized as a diocese until 1817,¹⁹ and, at its second regular convention, in 1818, the committee on the state of the Church declared, "It is now but little more than a year since there has been a hope of the revival of the Church in this State."²⁰ In 1821, when the diocesan convention met in Raleigh, it found no Episcopal church there, and had to hold its services in the Presbyterian and Methodist churches, which were kindly offered for its use.²¹

To anyone who knew West Point in 1823 it would have seemed exceedingly unlikely that Polk would find there the religious faith that he had failed to acquire elsewhere. The Deism which had been so fashionable among American intellectuals during the revolutionary and post-revolutionary periods, was, by this time, rapidly disappearing before the advance of a new pattern of Christian thought and practice which went by the name of "Evangelicalism," but it still retained its hold over a large portion of the medical and military professions.

American Deism received its inspiration from French eighteenth century rationalism, and, as West Point was modeled after the Military Institute of France, the Gallic influence was strong there. Most of the text books were in French, and French was the only subject, besides

¹⁷Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 69-101.

¹⁸William White, *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, Philadelphia, 1820, pp. 216-7; W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, New York, 1859, pp. 315-7.

¹⁹Diocese of North Carolina, *Journals of Conventions, 1817 and 1818*, Fayetteville, 1821, pp. 1-5.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 9.

²¹Diocese of North Carolina, *Journal of Convention, 1821*, Fayetteville, 1821, p. 3.

mathematics, that was taught during the first year of the course.²² It was natural, therefore, that French fashions in theology should prevail there, even after they had begun to lose their popularity elsewhere, but their reign was not to last much longer. During the period of Polk's residence at West Point the forces of Evangelical Christianity stormed that citadel and took it.

The man who led the attack, and, for some time, carried on the battle single-handed, was a young Episcopal minister, the Reverend Charles Pettit McIlvaine, who was later to become, as Bishop of Ohio, one of the outstanding leaders of the Church during the middle years of the century. When he came to West Point he was twenty-five years old, and his only previous pastoral experience had been as rector of Christ Church, Georgetown, D. C., to which parish he had been called while still studying for the ministry, before he was old enough to be ordained deacon. One of his parishioners at Georgetown was John C. Calhoun, who was then Secretary of War, with whom McIlvaine formed a close personal friendship. In 1825 Calhoun offered his young pastor the post of chaplain and instructor in mathematics at West Point. McIlvaine hesitated to accept, both because of his youth and because of the well known prevalence of "infidelity" at the academy, but at length a sense of duty, combined with the hope of improving his own and his wife's health by removal to a more northerly climate, induced him to do so.²³

McIlvaine found that the religious condition of the Point had not been painted in too gloomy colors by those who had described it to him. The officers were polite and friendly, and willing to assist him in carrying out the formal part of his duties, but not one of them would profess the least interest in religion. The cadets he saw but seldom outside of chapel and the classroom. The regulations only allowed them to call on the faculty, or anyone outside of the barracks, on Saturday afternoon, and their own shyness and the fear of being thought religious, prevented them calling on the Chaplain even then. For a year the young minister continued his bold and uncompromising preaching of the Gospel without producing the slightest observable effect, but with an effect beneath the surface, which, when it finally burst into view, was to surprise him, even more than others, with its magnitude. McIlvaine was known, throughout his life, as one of the great preachers of his denomination, and his sermons during that dark and discouraging year had touched the hearts of his youthful hearers more deeply than either he or they realized.

Toward the end of his first year, a cadet finally did come to see

²²*Polk, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 69-73; Grant, op. cit., pp. 38-9.*

²³*Carus, op. cit., pp. 10-21.*

McIlvaine—not because he was ready to admit any interest in religion, but because he had promised his father to call on the Chaplain. Even this promise had not been sufficient to overcome his reluctance to visit a parson, until the news of his father's death had roused him to belated obedience. He was polite and respectful, but he seemed impervious to religious instruction. However, McIlvaine presented him with two tracts, requesting him to read one himself and to drop the other somewhere in the barracks, in the hope that it might fall into the hand of someone who would benefit by it. The cadet promised compliance, and, perhaps in a spirit of sport, dropped the second tract, a popular summary of the evidences for Christianity, into the room of Leonidas Polk.

Though he may not have known it, McIlvaine's messenger had chosen an opportune time for his involuntary missionary work. Polk was still brooding over the rejection of his appeal to the Secretary of War, and, in the course of that brooding, had evidently reached a point at which he was prepared to recognize the possibility that his system of values could bear reexamination. He read the tract with an attention that he had not previously given to the claims of Christianity. It brought to a head the impressions which he had half-consciously received from the Chaplain's sermons. Just one week after the tract had been sent forth "as bread upon the waters," Polk appeared in McIlvaine's quarters, too choked with emotion for coherent speech. After several ineffectual attempts to make himself understood, he was finally able to stammer: "Tell me what I must do—I have come about my soul. I know not what I want—I am entirely in the dark. What must I seek? Where must I go?" He left the Chaplain's study a confessed Christian, never to "once relent his first avowed intent to be a pilgrim."

Forty days later he was baptized, together with another cadet, W. B. Magruder, later a general, in the presence of the entire corps. It was an impressive scene, and its impressiveness was not lost on those who were present. McIlvaine addressed a brief sermon to the candidates, to impress them with the significance of their vows, and Polk was so moved by his words that, at one point, he interrupted with a solemn "Amen". Thirty-eight years later, when the death of the bishop-general was reported in the papers of the country, one who had been an accidental spectator at his baptism wrote to McIlvaine to ask if he were not the cadet who had interrupted the Chaplain's exhortation with that heartfelt "Amen"²⁴.

Polk's conversion was the signal for a dramatic revival of religion which swept the whole institution. When it was known that

²⁴*Polk, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 89-93; Carus, op. cit. pp. 24-9, 176-7, 209-10; C. P. McIlvaine, The Apostolical Commission, Gambier, 1838, pp. 36-9.*

this dashing and handsome cadet, a leader among his fellows, had dared to declare for Christ, others, who had, perhaps, been too timid to speak out before, no longer lacked the courage to come forward, and conversion followed conversion, until it seemed that the entire corps had been touched. So high did the feeling run, that on one occasion McIlvaine felt obliged to stop in the middle of his sermon, lest the emotions of his hearers should get out of control. "I had to stop," he said later, "and I did stop." For years afterward he continued to "hear of cases of persons, whose religious life was then seminally begun, of whom he had never heard before."²⁵

It was after his conversion that Polk was appointed orderly sergeant. The post involved the unpopular duty of compelling the senior cadets to get up on time in the morning. The enforcement of this requirement had been neglected for some years past, and the authorities, anxious to improve the discipline of the Point in this respect, felt that a man of strong religious principles would be the only one who could be trusted to perform the task conscientiously. Polk performed this work faithfully, as he did the duty which was later placed upon him of commanding the first year men, but his interest in military life was already waning, as he felt himself called to another profession. Before he had graduated, he announced his intention of resigning from the army at the end of the required year of service, to enter the ministry of the Church. He wished, indeed, to seek his release at once, so that he might accept the post, which had been tendered him, of professor of mathematics in the recently founded college at Amherst, Massachusetts, where he hoped to have an opportunity of pursuing the literary studies which he thought were too much neglected at the military academy. His father was opposed to this scheme, however, and Leonidas yielded to his wishes, anxious to please him in everything in which he could, since he felt it his duty to disappoint him in his cherished dream of seeing his son in the profession which he most admired.²⁶

His graduation was followed by the usual furlough, which he spent traveling in the North. In the course of this tour he saw one of the early railroads of the country, which was used to carry stone from the Quincy quarries to the Bunker Hill Monument. He also paid a visit to the Adams homestead, which disappointed him with its plainness. At Albany he called on Martin Van Buren, whose son had been one of his classmates at West Point. Before his furlough expired, his resignation was accepted, so that he had no experience of actual military life from his training days to the time he was called to be a general in the Confederate Army.²⁷

²⁵*Carus, op. cit., pp. 29, 176-7.*

²⁶*Polk, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 93-100.*

²⁷*Ibid., pp. 101-4.*

In the fall of 1828 Polk entered the Virginia Theological Seminary at Alexandria.²⁸ This institution had started work four years previously, with two professors, the Rev. Reuel Keith and the Rev. William H. Wilmer, and twelve or fourteen students.²⁹ Its establishment had been the result of efforts begun by the Diocese of Virginia in 1820, whose original object had been the founding of a theological professorship at the College of William and Mary.³⁰ Its leadership, as was that of the diocese, had always been decidedly Evangelical, and after the General Seminary, as a result of its union with the New York diocesan seminary in 1821, passed to some extent under the control of Bishop Hobart and the High Churchmen,³¹ Virginia came to be looked upon by the Evangelicals as the seminary which best represented their ideals. It was natural, therefore, that the convert of so pronounced an Evangelical as McIlvaine should be sent there.

As was to be expected, the religious life was emphasized at Virginia as strongly as the intellectual—perhaps more strongly. Polk's letters do not tell us whether the weekly prayer meeting of faculty and students, which was later to become so important a feature of the seminary life,³² was already in existence or not, but he does speak of the organization of a missionary society, an augur of the important role which Virginia was to play in the missionary life of the Church, and of the informal services held by the students for the people of the neighborhood, which led to the raising of three hundred dollars toward the building of a chapel.³³ Of the formal teaching of the classroom he says little, and he was evidently not very strongly impressed with its importance, for he left the seminary before the completion of his senior year, so as to spend some time with his family before ordination, remarking in a letter to his father that "in a theological course . . . a few weeks longer or shorter could not be of material consequence."³⁴

Polk was ordained deacon on April 9, 1830, by the Right Reverend Richard Channing Moore, Bishop of Virginia.³⁵ A little less than a month later he was married to Miss Frances Devereux of Raleigh, to whom he had been engaged for several years.³⁶ His first cure was as

²⁸Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 109.

²⁹Diocese of Virginia, *Journal of Convention*, 1824, Richmond, 1824, p. 17.

³⁰Diocese of Virginia, *Journal of Convention*, 1820, Richmond, 1820, p. 13.

³¹White, *Memoirs*, edition of 1880, New York, 1880, pp. 51-2, 290. Cf. also, *Historical Magazine*, September, 1936.

³²Cornelius Walker, *The Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Sparrow, D. D.*, Philadelphia, 1876, p. 114.

³³Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 118.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 120.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 121; Diocese of Virginia, *Journal of Convention*, 1830, Richmond, 1830, p. 9.

³⁶Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 121.

assistant to Bishop Moore in the Monumental Church, Richmond, which got its name from the fact that it had been built in 1814 as a memorial to those who had perished in a disastrous theatre fire upon its site.³⁷ The building was something of an architectural curiosity, for its designer had allowed his genius to run untrammelled, and had fused the elements of several supposedly incongruous schools into a not unpleasing whole.³⁸ Its congregation, as Polk wrote to McIlvaine, was "large, and the fashionable congregation of the city."³⁹ As Moore, like every other bishop in the American Church at that time, had to depend upon a parochial connection for his principal means of support, and as the building of the Monumental Church happened to coincide with the vacancy in the see which he was called to fill, it was natural that he should become its rector.⁴⁰

In 1830 Moore had been serving as bishop and rector for sixteen years, and had shown himself a faithful worker in both capacities. As rector he preached informally, or, as he would have said, "lectured" at least once during the week, in addition to his Sunday sermons, and founded a Sunday school and the sewing circles and missionary societies which formed a part of every well run parish. In 1824 he started a Bible class composed of "from eighty to a hundred ladies."⁴¹ We may also presume that he acted upon the advice which he himself once gave to a young minister: "No clergyman can be very successful, who does not form an intimate fire-side acquaintance with his parishioners."⁴²

To the young assistant it seemed that the sixty-eight-year-old rector was beginning to slow up. In the letter to McIlvaine from which we have already quoted, Polk complained, "The bishop is getting old, and is for peace. He is cautious and admits new plans and means with difficulty, though he is very kind and affectionate."⁴³ In other words, some of Polk's favorite schemes were discouraged by his superior, but he worked hard at his duties, nevertheless. In the summer Moore paid a visit to the North and left him in charge of the parish. So conscientiously did he attempt to fulfill his increased responsibilities that he suffered a breakdown and had to go home to recuperate. He returned to his work later in the fall, but his illness recurred during the winter, and when the summer came he was obliged to resign his position.⁴⁴ In reporting his retirement to the diocesan convention, Bishop

³⁷G. D. Fisher, *History and Reminiscences of the Monumental Church, Richmond, Va., 1814-1878*, Richmond, 1880, p. 36.

³⁸Aymar Embury II, *Early American Churches*, New York, 1914, pp. 146-7.

³⁹Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 123.

⁴⁰J. P. K. Henshaw, *Memoir of the Rt. Rev. Richard Channing Moore, D. D.*, Philadelphia, 1842, pp. 121-38.

⁴¹Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 89, 94-5; Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 123.

⁴²Henshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁴³Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 123.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 124-7.

Moore said of him, "Mr. Polk evidenced, during his ministry in Richmond, a spirit of the most ardent piety and devotion to duty; and it was with regret of no ordinary character that the Rector was obliged to accept his resignation."⁴⁵

Those who are fond of commenting upon the increase of mental disorders in modern times would do well to examine more critically the allegedly physical illnesses of our ancestors, for when one does, it is impossible to escape the conviction that many of them had their origin in the mind, rather than in the body. Nineteenth century science was decidedly materialistic, and nineteenth century physicians were more inclined to look for physical causes for diseases which were apparently mental than to seek a mental origin for those whose symptoms were physical. They did, however, make a rough and ready distinction between illnesses which could be cured by taking pills and those which could be cured by taking a vacation. Polk's malady was decided to belong in the latter class, so they gave him their favorite prescription for such cases, when their patients could afford it—they told him to go to Europe.⁴⁶

In the late summer of 1831, therefore, he crossed the ocean on a trip that was to take him through France, Italy, and England. While in Europe he did the things that most Americans do—admired the scenery and the remains, grumbled at the customs officers, disapproved of Paris and tried to see the best side of the English. He returned to America in the fall of 1832 with his health considerably improved, but not fully restored, and, after spending the winter in Raleigh, decided to devote himself to farming for a time in the hope of regaining his strength. His father gave him a plantation in Tennessee, adjoining one previously given to one of his brothers, and his father-in-law provided the slaves to work it.⁴⁷

Tennessee, which had passed through its frontier stage shortly after the Revolution, was, by 1833, a prosperous and populous state, so that Polk, in following the family tradition of westward migration, was not compelled to expose himself to the hardships of pioneer life. His new farm had evidently been already cleared, for the claims of a lessee had to be settled before he could obtain possession. There was no suitable house upon it, but he was able to live with his brother while one was being built. As soon as it was ready, he could settle down to the

⁴⁵*Diocese of Virginia, Journal of Convention, 1832, Richmond, 1832, p. 26.*

⁴⁶*Polk, op. cit., vol. I, p. 127. In this connection it is interesting to note that Polk's breakdowns became much less frequent after he was given work which was capable of absorbing his full interest. This is a phenomenon which is frequently observed in nineteenth century biographies.*

⁴⁷*Ibid., pp. 127-46.*

comfortable life of a southern planter in an environment not greatly different from that which he had left behind in Carolina.⁴⁸

While, however, Tennessee was no longer a pioneer region with respect to the population generally, it was still pioneer territory for the Church. The primary convention of the diocese had been held just four years previously under the presidency of Bishop Ravenscroft, of North Carolina. At that time there were just three clergymen in the state,⁴⁹ and it was not until the year of Polk's arrival that a bishop was elected, and not until 1834 that he was consecrated.⁵⁰ He was the Reverend James Harvey Otey, rector of St. Paul's Church, Franklin, who had come to Tennessee, the second clergyman of the Church to reach the state, in 1827, at which time, as he later declared, his sole possessions were his wife, his horse, his buggy, and his fiddle.⁵¹

Polk could not remain long in such an environment without heeding the urgent call of the Church for men to carry on her work. In 1834 he agreed to take charge of St. Peter's Church, Columbia, apparently without remuneration.⁵² In the same year, the Diocese of Tennessee took the step, which may well have excited the admiration of her older sisters, of releasing her bishop from parochial labors by undertaking his entire support herself.⁵³ There is reason to believe that Polk's voluntary labor at Columbia was an important factor in making this action possible, for after his resignation, Otey felt obliged to accept the rectorship of St. Peter's, explaining to his convention that the measure was rendered necessary by the fact that his principal support was derived from that parish.⁵⁴

In the fall of 1834, Polk and his brother paid a visit to their relatives in North Carolina. During the first part of their journey they accompanied Bishop Otey, who was making a visitation of the eastern part of his diocese. At Nashville Polk preached twice, in the morning and in the evening, and the Bishop preached in the afternoon, the service being read on each occasion by the rector, the Reverend George Weller. Leaving Nashville on the morning of October 27, they reached Knoxville on the evening of Saturday, November 1. The next morning they held service in the First Presbyterian Church, by invitation of the pastor. Polk read the prayers and the Bishop preached and baptized a child. In the evening the Second Presbyterian Church

⁴⁸Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 147.

⁴⁹Diocese of Tennessee, *Journal of Convention*, 1829, Nashville, 1829, pp. 3-6.

⁵⁰Diocese of Tennessee, *Journal of Convention*, 1833, Nashville, 1833, p. 14; W. M. Green, *Memoir of the Rt. Rev. James Harvey Otey, D. D., LL. D., the First Bishop of Tennessee*, New York, 1885, p. 12.

⁵¹Green, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁵²Polk, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 152.

⁵³General Convention, *Journal of 1835*, New York, 1835, p. 45.

⁵⁴Diocese of Tennessee, *Journal of Convention*, 1839, Nashville, 1839, p. 13.

was placed at their disposal. Bishop Otey read the service and Polk preached. The congregations at both churches were "large and attentive" but the responses, doubtless because of unfamiliarity with the service, "were few and feebly made, thus presenting our worship . . . under an unfavorable aspect."⁵⁵

In the spring of 1835 Polk went with his bishop on a missionary visit to the village of Pulaski, where the Methodist church was generously opened for their use. On Saturday they held service three times, Otey preaching in the forenoon and evening and Polk in the afternoon, and on Sunday they did the same, again preaching alternately. Though their efforts were productive of no definite results in members added to the Church, yet, "so much seriousness and fixed attention" was manifested by those to whom they preached that they felt confident they had not labored entirely in vain.⁵⁶

At the convention of 1835 Polk was evidently regarded as one of the leading clergymen of the diocese. He was chosen as clerical delegate to General Convention, trustee of General Theological Seminary,⁵⁷ corresponding secretary of the diocesan missionary society, and a member of the standing committee and the committee on applications from new churches and on the support of the episcopate.⁵⁸ He also served on a special committee which was intrusted with the painful task of investigating charges affecting the moral character of one of their brethren, the rector of Trinity Church, Clarksville. The committee was happily able to report that the charges, which had pursued the unfortunate clergyman almost since his ordination, and had been repeatedly investigated before, were unfounded, but they did express the opinion that he had not always been as prudent in his conduct as one in his position should have been.⁵⁹

In his parochial report, Polk listed nineteen baptisms, of which sixteen were of Negro children. Commenting on this fact, he said, "This is a portion of our population, for the neglect of which the Rector feels that his conscience has rebuked him. They are as fair subjects for missionary exertion . . . as any of their brethren still in the heart of Africa."⁶⁰

Polk's election as a delegate to General Convention enabled him to attend one of the most important sessions of that body ever held

⁵⁵*Diocese of Tennessee, Journal of Convention, 1835, Nashville, 1835, p. 5.*

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵⁷*Under the arrangement worked out in 1821, which continued until the latter part of the century, the trustees of General Seminary were allotted to the several dioceses in proportion to the number of their clergymen and the size of their contributions. Tennessee's share was one trustee. See footnote 31.*

⁵⁸*Diocese of Tennessee, Journal of Convention, 1835, pp. 20, 28-30.*

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 12-4, 20, 31-6.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 24.

in the history of the Church, for it was in that year that the epoch-making step was taken of accepting the principle that missionary work was a function of the whole Church, declaring that all members of the Church were members of the missionary society, and placing that society under the direction of a Board of Missions elected by General Convention.⁶¹ It was also in that year, and as a corollary of the foregoing measures, that a canon was adopted providing for the election of "missionary bishops," to be supported by the missionary society, for foreign fields and for states and territories of the United States not regularly organized into dioceses.

As the debates of this Convention were not published, it is impossible to tell how active a part Polk took in its deliberations. Since he was the sole clerical deputy from Tennessee, he automatically had a place on the committee on the state of the church, whose work was the summarizing of the reports of all the dioceses, and which included one clergyman from each state. More significant was his appointment to the special committee which was charged with drafting a canon on missionary bishops.⁶² The report of this committee showed the members' zeal for the missionary cause, and their lack of experience in ecclesiastical legislation. After setting forth the importance of providing bishops for missionary work, they proposed a canon which was to define the exact jurisdiction of the bishops to be chosen, and which provided that they should be "elected" by the House of Bishops on "nomination" by the House of Deputies, thus giving the Bishops only a secondary role in their choice. The House rejected this canon in favor of a substitute proposed by the Reverend James Milnor, rector of St. George's Church, New York, and one of the three who had first proposed the inclusion of all Churchmen in the missionary society.⁶³ This substitute reversed the arrangement of the committee's canon, placing the "nomination" with the Bishops and the "election" with the Deputies—i. e., it really allowed the Bishops to elect the candidate, and gave the Deputies merely the power of confirming or rejecting their choice. It also left the jurisdiction of the missionary bishops to be determined by the conventions electing them.⁶⁴

As soon as the canon was passed the Bishops proceeded to nominate and the Deputies to elect two missionary bishops to have jurisdictions in the Northwest and Southwest, respectively. They were the Reverend Jackson Kemper, rector of St. Paul's Church, Norwalk,

⁶¹*General Convention, Journal of 1835, pp. 59, 62.*

⁶²*Ibid., p. 20.*

⁶³*W. C. Doane, A Memoir of the Life of George Washington Doane, Bishop of New Jersey, New York, 1860, p. 170. The other two were Doane and McIlvaine.*

⁶⁴*General Convention, Journal of 1835, pp. 66-7, 69, 72, 145-6.*

Connecticut, who for many years had been assistant to Bishop White in Christ Church, Philadelphia, and who had been an active supporter of the missionary society from its earliest days, and the Reverend Francis Lister Hawks, rector of St. Thomas' Church, New York, and the pioneer historian of the American Church. Kemper accepted and began his long and useful services in the Northwest, but Hawks declined, so that the missionary jurisdiction in the Southwest was left to be filled by the next General Convention.⁶⁵

These two years, 1834 and 1835, were, for Polk, years of vigorous activity in the work of the Church and of quiet happiness at home, but they were to be followed by a renewed loss of health and by serious financial reverses. In 1837, unable to attend the diocesan convention, he submitted a report in which he declared that feeble health throughout the year past had prevented him from preaching, though he had generally been able to read services. The greater part of his parochial labors had, in fact, fallen on the shoulders of the Bishop.⁶⁶ In the year following the carelessness or incompetence of his overseer, combined with the injudicious indorsing of notes on his own part, carried away a large part of his fortune, and in the summer of 1838 he resigned from his parish, apparently feeling that he must, for a time, devote his energies to repairing his personal losses, though he did continue to hold services for the slaves of his own and neighboring plantations.⁶⁷ The Church, however, had other plans for him.

Though Polk was unable to attend the General Convention of 1838, he had friends who did, and when the question of filling the vacant missionary jurisdiction in the Southwest came before the Bishops they agreed upon him as their nominee, and the Deputies confirmed their selection. The vote on his election was not recorded in either house, but we have Bishop McIlvaine's word for it that he was chosen with "impressive unanimity."⁶⁸ The choice at first sight seems a surprising one, for of Polk's eight years in the ministry, only about four, because of persistent ill health, had been spent in active work, and that had been performed in inconspicuous fields. The preceding General Convention, however, had tried the experiment of calling a prominent rector to the work in the Southwest, and had been met with a refusal. Polk was known to those who knew him at all as a man of outstand-

⁶⁵*General Convention, Journal of 1835*, p. 82; *Greenough White, An Apostle to the Western Church*, New York, 1900, pp. 21-62; *E. A. Duyckinck, A Memorial of Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D.*, New York, 1871, p. 12.

⁶⁶*Diocese of Tennessee, Journal of Convention, 1837*, Nashville, 1837, pp. 7, 19. ⁶⁷*Polk, op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 152-3; *Diocese of Tennessee, Journal of Convention, 1839*, p. 13; *McIlvaine, op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁶⁸*General Convention, Journal of 1838*, New York, 1838, pp. 79-80; *McIlvaine, op. cit.*, p. 39.

ing ability, endowed with the gift of leadership, who had given himself unstintingly to the service of his Master whenever he was physically able to do so. The Church evidently had faith that if he accepted the new task which she imposed upon him, he would be given the strength to perform it.

Polk was consecrated on December 9, 1838. Bishop Otey's words in reporting this event to his convention will serve as a fitting close to this part of our narrative. "Thus," he said, "we have lost from the councils of the diocese a brother well beloved, one whose personal exertions were freely contributed to promote the cause we have in hand, and one whose zeal to honor the Savior led him to be foremost in every good work."⁶⁹

⁶⁹*Diocese of Tennessee, Journal of Convention, 1839, p. 16.*

THE UNITED STATES IN 1840



BISHOP POLK'S
ORIGINAL JURISDICTION
INDICATED BY HEAVY LINES

POLK'S MISSIONARY EPISCOPATE

By Walter Herbert Stowe, S. T. D.

ON Saturday, September 15, 1838, in General Convention, Bishop Ives of North Carolina moved that at 12 o'clock noon the House of Bishops "proceed to nominate a missionary bishop for the state of Arkansas."¹ After spending some time in silent prayer, the bishops chose as their nominee to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies the Rev. Leonidas Polk of Tennessee "as a missionary bishop of this Church to exercise episcopal functions in the state of Arkansas." On the same day the House of Deputies "elected" Leonidas Polk as a missionary bishop and signed the required testimonials.

On December 9, 1838, Dr. Polk was consecrated to the episcopate in Christ Church, Cincinnati.²

"The occasion is described as one of thrilling and overpowering interest. Morning service was read by the Rev. William Jackson of Louisville, Kentucky, assisted in the lessons by the Rev. E. W. Peet of Chilicothe, Ohio. The ante-communion service was begun by the Rt. Rev. Bp. Meade, the Rt. Rev. Bp. McIlvaine reading the epistle and the Rt. Rev. Bp. Smith the gospel. The sermon was preached by Bp. McIlvaine.³ The Bishop-elect was presented by Bps. McIlvaine and Otey. The consecration was by Bp. Meade, Bps. McIlvaine, Smith and Otey assisting: after which the Holy Communion was administered by the bishop to the clergy present (thirteen), and to a large body of the laity."

What kind of a man had the Church elected and consecrated at the age of thirty-two, as the first missionary bishop of the Southwest with a salary of \$2,000 per year? The best pen portrait I have been able to find is that of the Rev. Dr. John Fulton⁴ who knew him intimately. Discounting the fact that Fulton's portrait is that of the Bishop in the maturity of his powers, twenty years after his conse-

¹*General Convention Journal, 1838, pp. 112, 114, 78-80, 118.*

²*Spirit of Missions, IV., 28.*

³*An extract from Bishop McIlvaine's sermon, in which he recounted the conversion of Leonidas Polk at West Point thirteen years before, is to be found in "The Spirit of Missions," IV., 89-92.*

⁴*Perry, Wm. S., "History of the American Episcopal Church," II., 563-564. Fulton was ordained by Bishop Polk on May 27, 1857, was appointed his assistant in Trinity Church, New Orleans, and was for more than a year a member of the bishop's family. See Perry, II., 583 (footnote).*

cration to the episcopate, his characterization has many elements which must have been evident in 1838:

"In his personal appearance Polk had great advantages. Of good stature and an erect military carriage, broad shouldered and deep in the chest, with a well-poised, shapely head, strong but finely-cut features, one lock overhanging his wide forehead, clear complexion, and keen but frank and kindly blue eyes, the first glance recognized him as a man to be obeyed; a closer scrutiny revealed him as a man whom noble men might love, and meaner men might fear.

"In scholarly attainments he was not so fortunate. His education had been mainly at West Point, and was scientific, not literary. Of classics he knew little; of theology not much. Of canon law, with the exception of our small American code, he knew nothing at all. In conversation he was wonderfully charming. In preaching and writing he was clear and vigorous, but at times diffuse. His habit of mind was to grasp at the root-principles of things, and the clearness of his thoughts was always apparent, though his style of composition lacked the graceful facility of expression, the fertility of illustration, and the felicity of arrangement which belong to the accomplished scholar. He was quite as conscious of his lack in these respects as he was unconscious of his eminence in others. . . ."

Fulton goes on to describe Polk's relationship to Stephen Elliott, bishop of Georgia, and brings out certain other qualities of the former by contrast with the latter:

"The affection between Polk and Elliott was more than that of brothers. Each was the complement of the other. Polk had the greater energy; Elliott had more deliberation. Polk's plans were magnificent; Elliott had the genius of proportion. Polk aroused enthusiasm; Elliott disarmed opposition. It was natural that Polk should take the lead, and Elliott loved to have it so, yet it may be doubted whether Polk would have attained the preeminent position he held among Southern bishops if Elliott had not stood by him and supplemented what Polk lacked."

Thus in due time it came to pass that Polk and Elliott were recognized, beyond all question, as the leaders of the Southern Church.

POLK'S ORIGINAL JURISDICTION

Almost from the start Dr. Polk was virtually a domestic missionary bishop, a foreign missionary bishop, and a diocesan bishop. While his formal title as conferred by General Convention was practically limited to "Missionary Bishop of Arkansas", three dioceses im-

mediately requested his supervision: Mississippi, organized in 1826; Alabama, organized in 1830; and Louisiana, organized in 1838. Texas' war of independence with Mexico was practically won at the battle of San Jacinto, April 21, 1836. A republican constitution was adopted in the same year and its independence was recognized in 1837 by the United States, Great Britain, France and Belgium. It was thus a "foreign" country and any missionary operations were under the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions. This committee requested Bishop Polk to visit Texas and give it episcopal oversight.

The area Polk was called to oversee was immense, over 500,000 square miles—a territory larger than that portion of the United States bounded by the Atlantic ocean on the east, the Mississippi river on the west, the Canadian border on the north, and the Ohio river and the Mason and Dixon line on the south. It contained a population of 1,500,000, counting Texas; a population which had grown over one hundred per cent during the decade 1830-1840, and was to increase over sixty per cent from 1840 to 1850. It was not the size of the population which made his task so stupendous and in many ways impossible, but its scattered character, the extent of territory, and the slow and difficult means of travel and communication. Very soon he was compelled to relinquish the care of Mississippi to Bishop Otey of Tennessee. The following table will give some idea of what was involved in his original jurisdiction:

	Admitted to Union	Area Square Miles	POPULATION			
			1830	1840	1850	1860
Louisiana.....	1812	45,409	215,739	352,411	517,762	708,002
Mississippi.....	1817	46,362	136,621	375,651	606,526	791,305
Alabama.....	1819	51,279	309,527	590,756	771,623	964,201
Arkansas ⁵	1836	52,525	30,388	97,574	209,897	435,450
Republic of Texas (1836-1845).....		c 350,000 ⁶	c 20,000	c 100,000		
State of Texas.....	1845	262,398 ⁷			212,592	604,215

⁵Arkansas, part of the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, was organized as a territory in 1819; admitted to the union as a slave state, June 15, 1836.

⁶The Republic of Texas claimed as its western boundary (later asserted and made good by the United States), the Rio Grande River from its mouth to its source, which has its rise in the San Juan mountains of what is now southwestern Colorado, thence north to the 42nd parallel. This claim, therefore, included within the area of the Republic of Texas the eastern portions of what are now the states of New Mexico and Colorado, a corner of Wyoming, southwestern Kansas, and the panhandle of Oklahoma.

⁷By the Compromise of 1850, \$10,000,000 being paid to the state of Texas by the Federal government, the area of the state of Texas was reduced to its present limits.

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN BISHOP POLK'S JURISDICTION AS OF 1838

The diocese of *Mississippi*, now twelve years old but not yet able to walk without assistance from the Board of Missions, reported to the General Convention⁸ the existence of seven congregations, four having been organized since 1835, with Vicksburg, Grand Gulf and Jackson without pastors. Trinity Church, Natchez, under the care of the Rev. D. C. Page, had 47 communicants, but the congregation was described as "large and influential," and a new church building was hopefully anticipated. St. Paul's Church, Woodville, the Rev. John F. Fish, rector, numbered 25 communicants, the congregation was increasing in size and importance, and the church building had been lately improved. Christ Church, Jefferson, with 8 communicants, had until the recent arrival of the Rev. James A. Fox, been without a rector for five or six years. St. Paul's Church, Columbus, under the Rev. M. L. Forbes, had increased within a year from 6 to 36 communicants. Bishop Kemper had visited it in April, 1838, and confirmed 15. The prospects of this church were described as "flattering, notwithstanding the pecuniary embarrassments under which it now labors." The population was estimated at 600,000—a typical frontier exaggeration by one hundred per cent! In all there were six clergymen, of whom two were teachers: the Rev. Guy R. Pinching in Vicksburg and the Rev. Spencer Wall in Woodville. The Board of Missions reported to General Convention the need of 12 or 15 missionaries in Mississippi.

The diocese of *Alabama*, organized 1830, described the condition of the Church as "slowly but progressively improving" since the General Convention of 1835.⁹ The number of clergy resident had more than doubled, from 4 to 10, of whom 7 were in charge of parishes. The Rev. Caleb S. Ives, chaplain and professor of Ancient Languages in Mobile Institute, was to leave in December, 1838, for Texas.

Seven new congregations had been organized and admitted into union with the diocesan convention, one was organized and not yet admitted, four new churches had been erected, two had been consecrated, and two were in course of erection.

The population was increasing rapidly (309,527 in 1830; 590,756 in 1840), and was almost twice as large as any other section of Polk's jurisdiction. It was mostly composed of families from the older states, many of whom were educated in the Church and "ardently desire the

⁸*Gen. Con. Journal*, 1838, p. 62. For the state of the Church in Mississippi three years previous (1835), see, "*Historical Magazine*," IV., 158.

⁹*Gen. Conv. Journal*, 1838, pp. 64-65. For the state of the Church in Alabama in 1835, see "*Historical Magazine*," IV., 159.

services of the Church." The Church's growth was seriously retarded by the dearth of "suitable clergymen in sufficient number to meet the demand." The need of a diocesan bishop was keenly felt and since 1836 an episcopal endowment fund had been established, initiated by the gift of 640 acres of land by Jacob Lorillard of New York City (one of the Church's illustrious benefactors), to which between \$4,000 and \$5,000 had been added by subscription. Alabama was to wait another six years before having a diocesan bishop.

The recent visitation of Bishop Kemper had been a great stimulus. A diocesan missionary society had just been organized with the expectation of engaging one or two missionaries to travel throughout the diocese and thus take advantage of the ripest opportunities. The parochial clergy were industrious and extending their ministrations outside their immediate cures as far as possible.

During the three year period, 1835-1838, there had been 176 baptisms (adults, 12; infants, 164); 42 marriages; 119 funerals; 63 confirmations. As of 1838 the diocese reported 202 communicants, 36 Sunday school teachers, 305 Sunday school pupils.

The Board of Missions estimated that 20 missionaries were needed in Alabama.

The diocese of *Louisiana*, recently organized (1838), reported three organized parishes and two clergymen.¹⁰ Christ Church, New Orleans, organized in 1805 with Philander Chase as its first rector, had been for several years without a resident rector, but was now flourishing under the care of the Rev. N. S. Wheaton, with about 150 communicants. St. Paul's, New Orleans, was vacant, and the Rev. Roderick H. Ranney had recently become rector of Grace Church, St. Francisville. The Board of Missions reported the need of eight or ten missionaries, although the state had never been explored as to its spiritual needs and opportunities.

By vote of the diocesan convention, early in 1839, Bishop Polk was invited to give it episcopal oversight.

Arkansas had recently become a state of the union (1836), but up to 1838 no services of the Episcopal Church were known to have been performed by any of our clergy.¹¹

The Board of Missions, however, had received information that Churchmen, brought up at the Church's altars in other states, were there. At Little Rock and other places a very strong desire on the part of many of the leading citizens for the Church's regular ministrations had been expressed. By December, 1838, the Domestic Com-

¹⁰*Gen. Conv. Journal, 1838, p. 67.*

¹¹*Spirit of Missions, III., 399.*

mittee of the Board of Missions had determined, if possible, to sustain five able missionaries in Arkansas for the three succeeding years.

The Republic of *Texas*, in so far as missionary grants were concerned, was under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions. Sometime in the early fall of 1838 the Board of Missions received a letter,¹² dated July 6, 1838, from the Rev. Richard Salmon,¹³ then in Texas. So far as is known Salmon was the first clergyman of the American Church to minister in Texas. He was chaplain to the senate of the first congress of the Republic of Texas. He deserves remembrance, first because he made the venture without any backing from the Church at home, and second because his letter is a graphic description of the difficulties endured by the earliest settlers in that immense territory.

In his letter he stated that he "arrived in New Orleans about the middle of April, 1836, with the families who accompanied me, part of whom were my own parishioners at Syracuse and Geddes, New York, with the design, as it was well known, of settling together in Texas, and forming a community at first by ourselves, myself being the clergyman." But the disturbed state of Texas for nearly a year following the battle of San Jacinto (April 21, 1836), necessitated their remaining in New Orleans for that additional space of time. When they did enter Texas, presumably in 1837, disease and drowning carried off eleven individuals, and the remaining fourteen families in Texas were all in an unsettled state, "and in circumstances of greater or less affliction."

"As a missionary I have indeed done but little, on account of the continued sickness of myself and family. I settled in this place, (the county town of Brazoria, and the richest county in Texas,) with my family in August last (1837), since which, both myself and family have been sick; so much so, as to unfit us for all business more than seven-eighths of the whole time. Besides acting as chaplain to the Senate of the first Congress, I have performed several marriages, and attended a great many burials. Moreover, I have three several times actually commenced my duties in a select school; and in May last I began to preach regularly here to large congregations, and continued for three Sundays; but in every instance I have been prevented from prosecuting my enterprise by the sickness of either myself or family. And now I am on the point of commencing a similar work nearer the coast, where it is much more healthy than at this place. God only knows what the

¹²*Spirit of Missions*, III., 330-331.

¹³Salmon was ordered deacon, Sept. 21, 1823, by Bishop Hobart. He was a missionary in central New York for several years. After his unhappy Texas adventure, he returned to New York City and died there July 7, 1849.

result may be. In fact, such has been the will of our heavenly Father, we have, during our sojourn here, 'suffered the loss of all things,' and have barely escaped with our lives thus far.

"The fields here are now ripe for the harvest, and if the present opportunity be neglected, infinite will be the loss—let the Church act, and act promptly. I do not ask the Church to appoint me, notwithstanding my suffering, my labors, and my losses for the Church's sake, and although in no instance have I departed from the purity and integrity of my profession. But, oh! send us missionaries here."

A letter from a layman¹⁴ in Houston, Texas, dated July 8, 1838, stressed the need for immediate action by the Church. Several Presbyterian and Methodist preachers, an occasional Baptist and one Roman Catholic had been there, but not once had the correspondent heard the Church's service read since leaving New Orleans in February, 1837. In his opinion missionaries of the right sort were immediately needed in Houston, Galveston, Matagorda, Nacogdoches, San Antonio, Velasco and Washington. Steamboat navigation on the Trinity river would soon warrant the opening of stations at Anahuac and Liberty. A good schoolmaster was immediately needed in Houston.

At the moment the Foreign Committee was unable to secure clergy who would devote themselves *exclusively* to missionary work. But they did appoint as missionaries two priests who were intending to establish schools: the Rev. Caleb S. Ives¹⁵ of Mobile on September 25, 1838, and the Rev. Robert M. Chapman¹⁶ of the Eastern diocese on October 16, 1838. The latter arrived in Houston in November, and Ives in Matagorda in December, 1838.

Such then was the state of the Church and the background of the jurisdiction to which Dr. Polk was called as the first missionary bishop of the Southwest.

¹⁴*Spirit of Missions*, III., 328-330.

¹⁵*Spirit of Missions*, III., p. 326. For an excellent biography of Ives, see DuBose Murphy's essay, "Historical Magazine," VI., 240-248. Ives was born Sept. 25, 1798 in Vermont; ordered deacon by Bp. Brownell, July 7, 1833; priested, August 2, 1833. Died, after ten years' work in Texas, July 27, 1849, in Vermont.

¹⁶*Spirit of Missions*, III., p. 346. Chapman had been ordered deacon by Bishop Griswold, July 1, 1838. He left Texas in the summer of 1839 for reasons unknown. After serving in Connecticut and as rector of Trinity Church, Lenox, Mass., he returned to the West—Kentucky and Indiana—and served many years as teacher and principal in Vincennes University, Indiana.

FIRST MISSIONARY TOUR¹⁷

Because of its unique character, Bishop Polk's first missionary tour is worthy of detailed treatment and it will be well for the reader to provide himself with an atlas containing maps of the states of Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas. Officially, Bishop Brownell of Connecticut had episcopal oversight of Alabama, but he had delegated Bishop Otey of Tennessee to oversee the Church there, and Bishop Otey in turn requested Bishop Polk to visit that state. As it turned out, the latter retained it under his supervision until 1844.

Following his consecration, Bishop Polk returned home (Columbia, Maury County, Tennessee), put his affairs in order, and on February 14, 1839, left by stage for Florence, in the northwest corner of Alabama on the Tennessee river. Arriving the next day, he spent Friday and Saturday visiting families there and at Tuscumbia, six miles distant. The ministrations of the Rev. William Augustus Harris he found to be acceptable. The church building in Florence not being completed, services on Sunday the 17th were held in the "Methodist meeting-house," with a large and attentive congregation. The bishop preached on the divinity of Christ and Harris reported that "the impression he made was quite favorable." Polk felt that the prospects for the Church were encouraging.

On Monday, February 18th, Polk left for north Mississippi by way of Tennessee. Two days' travel by stage "over exceedingly rough roads," brought him to Bolivar, Hardiman county, Tennessee. The church here was under the care of the venerable Dr. Daniel Stephens. The bishop preached at the service on Tuesday night and the next morning journeyed southwest to La Grange, Fayette county, where the Rev. Samuel G. Litton was located, possessed of an "affectionate and confiding flock." Here Polk spent two days recruiting his strength, but preached to crowded congregations at night.

On Friday the 22nd he set off with Litton in a private conveyance for Salem, Benton county, Mississippi, but they lost their way among the many new roads and finally, instead of reaching Salem, arrived on Saturday night at Holly Springs, Marshall county. On Sunday morning Litton read service and Polk preached; in the afternoon Litton preached. In spite of bad weather they had large and attentive congregations. They found several warm friends of the Church and more were moving in. Holly Springs was then a mushroom town;

¹⁷The principal sources for this tour are: *Spirit of Missions*, IV., pp. 139-142, 198-200, 306-314, 333-335; *General Convention Journal*, 1841, pp. 157-162.

in 1836 it had been a cotton farm in a high and healthy country; by 1839 the inhabitants were numbered by thousands. It was a fine field for the Church and the Rev. Colley A. Foster was just taking up residence. The bishop remained in Holly Springs until February 26th, unable to visit outside of the town because of the lack of conveyance, but he ascertained that church people were living in Pontotoc county and at Hernando in De Soto county. Two men from the newly established town of Commerce on the Mississippi river guaranteed \$500 if an Episcopal minister would be established there. They estimated that their town had 1,000 inhabitants and claimed that it would be the commercial point for northern Mississippi and the rival of Memphis. Today it is not to be found on the map!

Between February 24th and March 1st Polk visited Randolph for an appointment, reached the river and sailed down it to Helena, Arkansas, which he reached at 3 o'clock in the morning of March 2nd. This was the largest Arkansas town on the Mississippi river with about 500 inhabitants, surrounded by a fertile country not thickly settled. It was destitute of religious privileges, but a few Church families were to be found, it was a field of missionary enterprise, and Polk recommended it as a missionary station. On Sunday the 3rd he preached twice in a private home, the court house not being heated. One churchman with his wife and many children had been deprived of the Church's ministrations for years and great was their joy.

In those days the longest way around was often the shortest way there. To reach the interior of Arkansas Polk boarded a boat on March 4th down the Mississippi river to the mouth of the Arkansas, and the next morning took another boat up the latter river bound for Little Rock. Touching at Arkansas Post, the bishop found several Church families, but the population was chiefly French, that place being one of the oldest French settlements in the west. It was originally called "Ozark" and was founded as early as Philadelphia. At Pine Bluff, 40 miles above Arkansas Post, he found Church families also, and recommended to the Domestic Committee that a missionary be appointed for these two towns, which one man could handle in view of the steamboat connection. The missionary, however, should know French.

Arriving at Little Rock on March 7th, the bishop remained there until the 12th, saw most of the families of the Church, held services and preached frequently—which usually meant every day. He found twenty to twenty-five Church families with as "strong Church attachment and as devout piety as I have met with at any time." They had come from most of the states of the Union and, as a whole, formed a

"highly intelligent body." The estimated population was 2,500 and was increasing. The location was healthy. The people were ready to pledge a salary of \$1,000 for a missionary.

Polk had expected to visit Batesville and Fayetteville in western Arkansas and Forts Gibson and Smith, the former being in what is now Oklahoma, near Muskogee. This he found to be unnecessary, as he was reliably informed that Batesville and Fayetteville were "respectable interior villages" of three or four hundred inhabitants, situated in fertile districts, not thickly populated. They were visited occasionally by a Methodist or Presbyterian minister and the appointment of a missionary for both stations was recommended. Troops were soon to be concentrated at Fort Smith. If so, a missionary would be needed there.

On March 12th the bishop left Little Rock on the mail coach for the southwestern part of Arkansas. It was a three day journey across rich lands with high, undulating ranges like those of the Carolinas. On the evening of his arrival in Washington, Hempstead county, he preached to a small congregation in the court house and also on the day following (the 15th). No one present was acquainted with the Prayer Book services. There were two other villages in the same county, Spring Hill and Columbus, in which were Church families, chiefly from Virginia and the Carolinas. A missionary was needed in that county. On Sunday the 17th, Polk officiated and preached twice in Spring Hill to large congregations, using the full services of the Church. He reported that he knew of "no more interesting station in the Southwest."

On Monday, the 18th, the bishop crossed the Red River, passed over into the disputed territory between Texas and the United States, visited planters, and then embarked by boat for Shreveport, Louisiana, about 250 miles below Polk's starting point. Accommodations for passengers were lacking, but a fur trader, formerly master of a vessel sailing out of Nantucket, loaned him a bear rug to sleep on. Every day the trader took an observation of the sun and then read his Bible. The bishop was naturally curious and the fur trader told him that his wife was a devout Episcopalian, that he had agreed with her that they should read their Bibles daily at the same hour, and that to be sure that he was reading at the same hour as his wife, he took an observation of the sun.¹⁸

The bishop was five days reaching Shreveport. The boat struck a snag in the night and sank. Polk helped the fur trader save his peltries; but the steamer seemed hopeless and the captain was about to abandon it, when the bishop suggested a plan for raising it. Adopt-

¹⁸Wm. M. Polk, "*Leonidas Polk*," Vol. I., p. 159.

ing it, the boat was raised, but it needed considerable repair. Another boat coming along, the bishop and the fur trader boarded it and continued on their way.

After visiting Shreveport, Natchitoches, and Alexandria in Louisiana,¹⁹ Bishop Polk spent the month of April in Mississippi where, in contrast to his more recent visitations, the Church had some settled clergy. From Natchez, where he arrived on April 6th, he proceeded up the Mississippi river to Vicksburg, confirmed 12 candidates and preached on "the duty of confessing Christ." Thence to Raymond, Jackson, and Clinton, returning to Vicksburg on the 19th to lay the cornerstone of the church building. Following visits to Natchez, Jefferson City, and Washington, he consecrated St. Mary's Church, Laurel Hill, which the bishop called a "most beautiful specimen of Gothic architecture," built at the sole expense of Dr. W. Newton Mercer on his estate for himself and his neighbors, and for the religious instruction of his slaves. Dr. Mercer expected to build a rectory also and to endow it. Services in Woodville on April 30th, May 1st and 2nd, and the confirmation of six persons, closed his visitation of the diocese of Mississippi.

The next week, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Page of Natchez, he spent in Louisiana at St. Francisville and New Orleans.²⁰

On May 10th, still accompanied by Page, Bishop Polk sailed for Texas. After forty-eight hours they reached Galveston on Sunday in time for the afternoon service being conducted by the Rev. Mr. Ranney of Louisiana. Another service was announced for that night, at which Polk preached to a large congregation. He spent the next day interviewing friends of the Church, found that a congregation was being organized, and funds being raised to build a church. The bishop himself selected a lot in a good part of the town. Galveston was the port of entry for most of Texas at that time, had 2,000 inhabitants, and was still growing. A resident missionary was needed at the earliest possible moment.

Page having elected to accompany the bishop on his Texas visitation, the two arrived in Houston on May 14th. This town was then the capital of the republic of Texas, with a population of about 2,000. Polk had an uncanny ability for sizing up the future possibilities of a town in those early days. He prophesied that in spite of the expected removal of the government to Austin, Houston would always be a center of importance, perhaps second. It is now first in size in the state of Texas. He reported that the Church had an organized con-

¹⁹For events connected with his visitation of Louisiana, see Dr. Slack's article, "Diocesan Episcopate in Louisiana," in this issue.

²⁰See below, "Diocesan Episcopate in Louisiana."

gregation and that \$4,000 to \$5,000 had been subscribed for the erection of a church, more was expected, and soon the building would commence. The Presbyterians were the only other religious group to have an organized congregation. He agreed with the suggestion of the Foreign Committee that a standing committee within the republic, to be the ecclesiastical authority of the Church, should be appointed until a bishop could take up residence. "A bishop, however, is wanted here, and he should be sent as soon as the competent authorities can convene. His influence would be immense, and no substitute can adequately take his place." This sage advice was not acted upon, to the Church's great detriment.

Equipping themselves with horses, the two missionary explorers pushed into the interior and after two days on the prairies, arrived at the house of the Rev. John W. Cloud, formerly of Connecticut and Mississippi. With him they spent part of Sunday, the 19th, and the bishop baptized Cloud's child. They reached Columbia on the Brassos river in time for service that night in a warehouse. The next day they moved down the river to Brazoria and Velasco on the gulf, passing through fertile lands destined to have a large population. On the 22nd they rode up the west side of the Brassos to McNeil's Prairie where they found a Church family, the mother having been confirmed by Bishop White some years before. The next two days were spent in travelling through wild and desolate country between the Brassos and Colorado rivers and reached Matagorda at the mouth of the latter. They found Ives had gone north to raise funds for the Church. Cordially welcomed by Ives' flock, they held two services on Sunday, May 26th, and set out the next day up the Colorado river, intending, after reaching Austin, to push east to the United States line. The heat was so great that they were threatened with sunstroke and the bishop was extremely sick. Return to Matagorda was imperative and because of the heat they travelled at night instead of by day. They took boat from Matagorda on the 30th and reached New Orleans on June 10th.

Polk reported to the Foreign Committee that Texas, as a scene of missionary operations, was not different from the Southwest generally. "The population is composed of very much the same material, having the same pursuits and sympathies, though somewhat dispersed." He foretold its rapid growth and the Church there needed a missionary bishop and at least six presbyters and deacons without delay. Lots should be acquired in the principal towns and he had acquired some; land was needed for a college and theological seminary, and it could be purchased cheaply then. "The experience of the last twenty years witnesses strongly to the economy and wisdom of such an expenditure."

Galveston, Houston and Matagorda were prepared for the services of missionaries and would be able to support them in a few years without aid. A missionary was needed for Bastrop and Austin, the new capital; another at Nacogdoches and San Augustin in eastern Texas; a third at Sabine town and Fort Jessup on the river Sabine; three more for the several growing towns on the Brassos, one of the most fertile districts of the republic, especially Velasco and Quintana; Brazoria and Columbia; Washington and Nashville. For a few years \$2,000 to \$5,000 would be needed, but self-support was eventually assured. "I know of no foreign field in which the same amount could be better applied."

From New Orleans Bishop Polk took a boat to Memphis, thence to Florence, Alabama, where he officiated and preached on Sunday, June 23rd, and then to his home in Columbia, Tennessee.

Bishop Polk's first missionary tour occupied nearly five months. He had travelled over 5,000 miles, preached 44 sermons, officiated at 14 baptisms and 41 confirmations, laid the cornerstone of one church and consecrated another. "The field is large, the harvest white, the laborers few." Outside of Texas there was not one minister of the Episcopal Church west of the Mississippi river and compared with the population, few in Mississippi and Alabama. The population was made up from almost all states of the union. While the field was not easy and he frankly bade those who would labor there to count the cost, yet he earnestly hoped "that we may speedily under God's blessing have men who shall be willing to come forth and supply 'this lack of service'."

SECOND VISITATION²¹

Bishop Polk spent September, October and November of 1839 in the East, reporting in person to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society and preaching in various churches on the Atlantic seaboard. On January 29th, 1840, he set out on his second visitation, taking three months to make very thorough tours of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

In Alabama he found ten clergymen in active service and in most of his visitations to parishes and missionary stations he was generally accompanied by one or more of them. The bishop found many reasons for encouragement. In almost every place he had both baptisms and confirmations, and of the latter some rather good sized classes of from 10 to 25. Several of the clergy were ministering to the slaves within their cures. The need of church buildings in some places was still

²¹*General Convention Journal, 1841, pp. 162-169.*

acute, five or six stations were still vacant, the local support of the missionaries sometimes precarious, but there were self-supporting parishes at St. Peter's in the Prairies, Lowndes county, in Montgomery and Mobile. He reported:

"In surveying the field of labor embraced by this diocese, I find in its condition much cause for gratitude to God on the part of the Missionary Board. Its effects have been felt, first or last, over the whole field, and it has contributed, more or less, to the founding and permanent establishment of every congregation in the diocese. These congregations will, ere long, be able to take care of themselves, and to evince their gratitude for the aid of the board, by contributing of their substance for the relief of the necessities of suffering brethren, dwelling in regions more distant."

Completing his visitation of Alabama in Mobile, he sailed to New Orleans and spent the period from March 27th to April 12th in Louisiana.²²

After spending one day in Woodville, Mississippi, the bishop travelled to St. Mary's on Second Creek where he met Bishop Otey, with whom he proceeded to Natchez. There, on Easter Day, April 19th, Polk consecrated Trinity Church, confirmed 13 persons, and Otey preached. Leaving Bishop Otey to take care of the other ministrations in the neighborhood, Polk pushed on to Canton, Madison county, a fertile and wealthy country with a large slave population and where a missionary was immediately needed. Thence to Preston, Holly Springs, Salem and home, ending his second visitation on May 5th.

On this second tour Bishop Polk had baptized 6 children and 8 adults; confirmed 116 persons; consecrated 2 churches; and ordained one deacon to the priesthood.

THIRD VISITATION²³

During the summer and early fall of 1840, Bishop Polk ministered in and about his home in Tennessee, serving the colored congregation which had been for some years under his care, ordained William H. C. Yeager, deacon, to the priesthood and sent him off to Little Rock, Arkansas, and consecrated St. Mark's Church, Williamsport, Tennessee.

On November 30, 1840, the bishop left home on his third missionary journey, headed for Arkansas and the Indian territory.

Ten days, December 15th to 25th, were spent in Little Rock where

²²See below, "*Diocesan Episcopate*."

²³*General Convention Journal 1841, pp. 169-172.*

Yeager had organized "a very interesting congregation," and was endeavoring to erect a church building. Three lots costing \$800 each were procured, the owners giving one, the bishop another, and the congregation paying for the third. \$2,000 had been subscribed towards a church building.

Two other clergymen in addition to Yeager had taken up the work in Arkansas since the bishop's first visit when there was none at all. The Rev. William Mitchell had been struggling amidst many discouragements at Pine Bluff. He had gathered a small congregation but the location was then very unhealthy for himself and family. The bishop allowed him to move to Hempstead county.

On January 5th, 1841, Polk journeyed to Fayetteville on the border of the Indian country which he had been unable to visit on his first Arkansas tour. Here the Rev. William Scull was at work and presented eight persons for confirmation. The bishop considered this station a promising field; it was, for a new country, thickly populated with a class of people naturally attracted to the Church. He found, also, a girls' school for educating Cherokee Indian girls. The head of the school for over fifteen years, a woman missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, told the bishop that the Book of Common Prayer was best suited for the religious training of Indians.

The bishop's first attempt to reach Fort Gibson was frustrated by extremely cold weather—12 degrees below zero. He used the delay for interviews with the Cherokee chiefs about the possibilities of the Church ministering among them. They were cordial and promised their cooperation. Polk was especially impressed with John Ross, a chief of the Cherokees and a man of intelligence, who promised his influence in the education and Christianization of his people if the Church should elect to minister among them.

During the latter part of January the bishop was finally able to reach both Fort Gibson and Fort Smith, staying several days in the former. The officers at both forts were anxious to have as chaplains priests of the Church. The village of Van Buren, near Fort Smith, was the distributing point for the Indian territory and a missionary was needed there.

Travelling southwest to the Red River valley, Polk passed through the Choctaw nation to Dockville, the principal Indian village near Fort Towson, now in Choctaw county, Oklahoma. Holding services and preaching there the last days of January, the bishop found that the prominent Protestant denominations were maintaining missionary establishments among the Indians, but, he reported, "I saw no reason

why our Church might not employ her energies in that field with as fair promise of success as any other."

During February he visited again the scenes of his first visitation in the Red River country, both in the republic of Texas and the state of Arkansas. Here was no resident clergyman of the Church and Polk stated that "the Indian tribes are better provided than the whites who surround them, either in Texas or the United States."

"There is no fairer field for missionary operations in the republic (of Texas) than is presented by what is termed the Red River districts. It is settled by as wealthy planters as are found in any part of the states, and I was informed by persons competent to decide, that the institutions of the Church would be exceedingly well received."

One incident, in particular, strikingly confirmed him in this opinion. Some years before, two girls, students in the Episcopal Female Institute of Columbia, Tennessee, became attached to the Church. On the family's subsequent removal to Texas, they took their Prayer Books with them. Their father, an officer in the Texas War of Independence, had been indifferent to religion. This was one of many families who had been overjoyed to see the bishop on his first visitation in 1839. At that time Polk urged the father to use the Prayer Book and read service every Lord's Day. This the father had done and now, on his second visitation to them, the bishop found the father converted and ready for baptism together with his wife and five children.

"For such circumstances we are led to two reflections: first, the eminent value of our liturgical services; secondly, the usefulness of our Church institutions for the education of the young in Christian principles."

Passing through that portion of Louisiana visited first in 1839, the bishop reached New Orleans, from which point he had expected to sail for Matagorda, Texas, and consecrate the church there. A letter from Ives informed him that the church was not yet ready. The bishop thereupon changed his plans, sailed to Mobile, Alabama, consecrated Christ Church in that city and confirmed seventeen persons on the second Sunday in Lent. Returning to New Orleans and Louisiana, he spent the rest of March and part of April. On May 1st, 1841, he was home again.

On this, his third visitation, Bishop Polk baptized 43 children and adults; confirmed 42 persons; ordained 2 deacons to the priesthood; celebrated 3 marriages; and consecrated 2 churches. The larger

number of baptisms and the fewer confirmations of this visitation, compared with the second, were due to the much smaller number of clergy laboring in the territory covered by the last missionary tour.

SUMMARY OF POLK'S MISSIONARY EPISCOPATE

During the less than three years of his missionary episcopate, besides the uncounted scores of services conducted and sermons preached, Polk had the following summary of his official acts to report to General Convention: baptisms, 71; confirmations, 199; ordinations: deacons, 1; priests, 3; marriages, 3; churches consecrated, 5. His own comment on this report is instructive:

"The vast extent of the field, the dispersed condition of the population, and the absence of facilities for communication with the different parts of it, have made the labor very great, and the apparent results far less than I could have desired. I have felt that I was engaged in the work of a pioneer, and that the seeds I was sowing, cast in as I trust in faith, would, under the watering of my successors, and the blessing of God, spring up in due time and bring forth fruits unto eternal life."

At the request of the diocese of Louisiana, the House of Bishops nominated and the House of Deputies elected Dr. Polk as bishop of Louisiana, according to the canon in force at the time of the General Convention of 1841.²⁴ Bishop Polk then resigned as missionary bishop, accepting his election as diocesan of Louisiana, and the missionary territory of Arkansas and the Indian Territory was assigned to Bishop Otey of Tennessee, who also took over Mississippi while Bishop Polk continued overseeing Alabama and Texas.

LAST VISIT TO TEXAS

The laity of the Church in Galveston and Matagorda, Texas, not only memorialized the General Convention of 1841 to elect a bishop for Texas, but those of Galveston asked that Eaton be elected and those of Matagorda made the same request for Ives. These actions spoke well for the regard in which both priests were held by their respective communities, but the House of Bishops, after some difficulty in making a selection, nominated the Rev. Nicholas H. Cobbs of Virginia. The House of Deputies, however, refused to concur, but not out of dissatisfaction with Mr. Cobbs:

²⁴*General Convention Journal, 1841, pp. 71, 113.*

*"Resolved, That, in the opinion of this House, it is not expedient to elect a Bishop to perform Episcopal functions in any place out of the territory of the United States, until the authority, rights, duties and responsibility of such Bishop, and of those ordained by him, shall have been declared and established, and a mode provided, by Canon or otherwise, of rendering them amenable to the laws of this Church."*²⁵

It being too late in the session for these conditions to be worked out immediately, all action was deferred for three years. But the House of Bishops endeavored to soften the disappointment of churchmen in Texas by the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Bishops of this House hereby express to the churches in Texas, their kindest feeling and good wishes for their welfare; and also request the Presiding Bishop to arrange with such Bishops as may find it convenient to visit those churches, and other places where it may be desirable, at least once in every year, until the next meeting of the General Convention."

During February, 1844, in accordance with this resolution and at the request of Dr. Griswold, the presiding bishop, Bishop Polk visited the three established missions in Texas: Galveston, Houston and Matagorda. Leaving Galveston until the last, Polk proceeded to Houston where he spent four busy days. In addition to services every night he baptized one adult and confirmed thirteen, of whom twelve were heads of families and, according to Gillett, the missionary, "eight were fresh from the ranks of Satan."

Polk and Gillett were four days making Matagorda. The weather was very bad; they were "sometimes swimming their horses, at others riding with the water half-way up their saddle skirts." The three days following their arrival, February 23rd, were happy days for the Church in Matagorda. The church was consecrated, the first such service in the republic. Twenty persons were confirmed; Ives had baptized most of them and seven had been scholars in his school, which Ives looked upon "as of incalculable importance to the Church."

"The Bishop, by his urbane and Christian deportment, and by his appropriate discourses, commanded the respect and approbation of all—even of those indifferent to the Gospel."²⁶

In Galveston, where he remained from March 1st to 7th, the bishop baptized 5 adults and 6 infants, confirmed 20 persons, and con-

²⁵*For the whole subject, see General Convention Journal, 1841, pp. 74-77, 113-114, 125-126, 135, 152-155.*

²⁶*For this visit to Texas see "Spirit of Missions," IX., pp. 155-157, 193-195, 268-270, 279-281, the last being Polk's own report.*

secrated the church. The Church had made fine progress under Eaton's ministrations.

In fact, as the bishop reported, all three places "gave gratifying proofs of the zeal and devotion of those brethren in the ministry to whom the work of the several missions has been entrusted." He was impressed with the Church's beneficial influence on social conditions, and the improvements in law and order. In his report to the Foreign Committee, Polk made three pointed recommendations:

(1) Missionaries should be stationed at San Augustine and Nacogdoches in East Texas; Independence and Columbia, and Brazoria, in Central Texas; Bastrop and Austin, and Gonzales, and San Antonio, in the West.

"It has been too often the fortune of the Church to make her appearance as a teacher of the faith, in the western parts of our country, after the public mind has been preoccupied by the dogmas of other religionists. And none knows so well the trials of her ministry, or the peculiarly painful character of their labors, in undoing so much as has been wrongly done, on the part of their predecessors, as those who have been actually employed in her service in the West."

Texas was an opportunity for the Church to enter a new field along with the very first.

(2) The immediate presence of a resident bishop in Texas was needed "to bring the power of the Church to bear upon the moral well-being of that people effectively."

"This is a question which has ceased to be open; it is now a practical maxim, and it is of the highest importance that the Church should act upon it with as little delay as possible."

(3) The establishment of schools was another point of great importance to the success of the Church in her evangelizing work. The proof of it was Ives' school at Matagorda. Polk was of the opinion that Galveston and Houston should have such schools and that they should be attached to every station.

Finally, it gave him pleasure to report that at a meeting in Galveston, with all three missionaries present, it was unanimously resolved to apply to the House of Bishops to supply the Church in Texas with "such episcopal supervision as is enjoyed by unorganized districts in the United States."

This prayer was answered by the General Convention of 1844 in the election of Dr. George Washington Freeman as missionary bishop of Arkansas and Indian Territory with provisional charge of Texas.

And thus ended, in a formal sense, the "missionary episcopate" of Leonidas Polk.

BISHOP POLK AND THE DIOCESE OF LOUISIANA

*By William Samuel Slack, D. D.**

PRIOR to the sale of that vast territory known as the Louisiana Purchase by France to the United States in 1803 the practice of none but the Roman Catholic religion was permitted within its bounds. In that sale, however, at the express insistence of Napoleon, then First Consul, religious freedom was guaranteed to all. Despite their having been prohibited entrance into that territory when owned by France and Spain, a small infiltration of non-Roman Christians was present; following the sale the number very perceptibly increased.

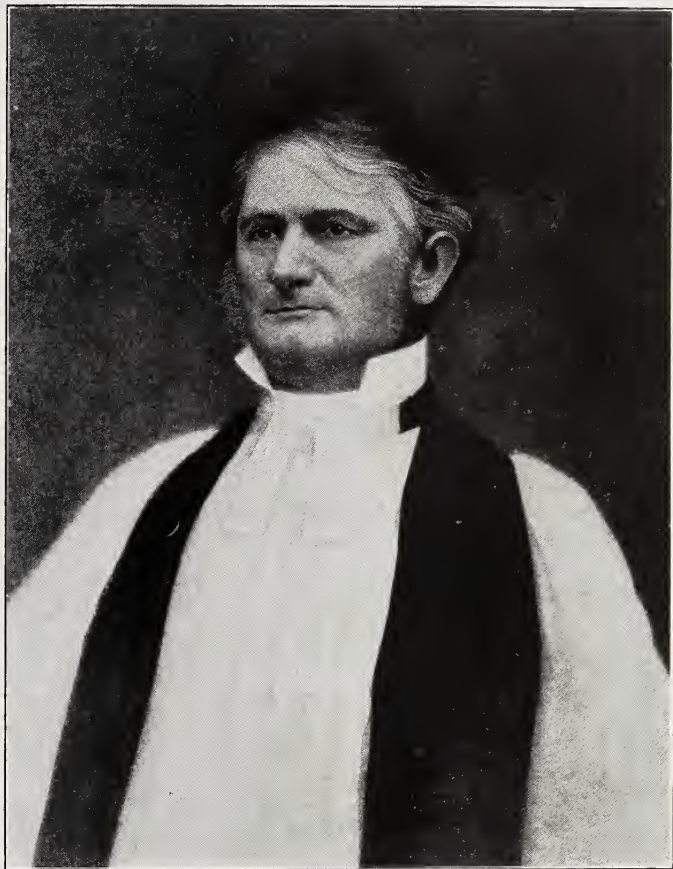
In the minutes of Christ Church, New Orleans, it appears that "on the 2d of June, 1805, a number of gentlemen assembled for the purpose of obtaining as speedily as possible a Protestant Clergyman to come and reside in New Orleans to preach the Gospel". A second meeting was held on the 9th. and a general meeting on the 15th of the same month, "to determine the Religious Denomination of the Clergyman to be invited:" at this meeting of the 53 votes cast, 45 were for an Episcopal Clergyman, 7 for a Presbyterian and 1 for a Methodist. The name of the church to be organized was to be "Christ Church".

"A Committee of Correspondence" was appointed to try and secure a clergyman to serve this congregation. Several Bishops were written to, and, at the suggestion of the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Moore, of New York, the Rev. Philander Chase, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., came to New Orleans and entered upon his duties in November, the first service being held in the Cabildo on Nov. 15th, 1805. He served until March, 1811, when he removed to Connecticut. There was a vacancy in the rectorship of Christ Church for three years.

The first Protestant Church to be incorporated by the Territorial Government of Louisiana was Christ Church, its first title being, "The Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church, in the County of Orleans", and its date July 3, 1805. The title was on May 2d, 1806, changed to "The Rector, Wardens and Vestrymen of Christ Church, in the County of Orleans in communion with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America", which charter is still in force.

Until 1826, when occasional services were held in or near St. Francisville, La., Christ Church was the only Episcopal Church in

**Recorder of Ordinations of General Convention since 1921. Rector of St. James' Church, Alexandria, Louisiana, 1917-1938. Author of "The Slack Family," 1930. Ed. Note.*



LEONIDAS POLK
Bishop of Louisiana
[1861]

the State of Louisiana. In 1829 this congregation was organized under the name of Grace Church. St. Paul's Church, New Orleans, was organized in 1837.

Some years elapsed before a diocese was organized. In 1830 Bishop Thomas Church Brownell, of Connecticut, presided over a convention held at New Orleans. It was composed of the Reverend Messrs. Hull, Bowman and Fox, with lay delegates present from New Orleans and St. Francisville. No application, however, was made for admission into union with the General Convention. In 1832 the General Convention enacted a canon permitting the dioceses of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana to unite in the election of a bishop. Acting under this canon a convention was held at New Orleans on March 4th and 5th, 1835. Mississippi and Alabama were represented, but Louisiana sent but one lay delegate. At that meeting the Reverend Francis Lister Hawks was elected bishop of "the South-Western diocese". He declined the election and the project was abandoned.

Prior to that convention Louisiana had organized a diocese on January 20, 1835, and applied to be received by the General Convention. That body declined to accede on the ground of "divided counsels".

At the General Convention of 1835 two Missionary Districts were created—the North-West and the South-West. The record runs:

"The House of Bishops inform the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies that they hereby nominate the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, D. D., as a Bishop of this Church, to exercise episcopal functions in the State of Louisiana and in the Territories of Arkansas and Florida."¹

After due consideration Dr. Hawks felt impelled to decline his election.

At a convention held at New Orleans April 28, 1838, attended by the Reverends Doctor Wheaton and R. H. Ranney, together with Messrs. Richard Relf, Lucius Campbell Duncan, Thomas Butler, William D. Boyle and William F. Brand, the diocese was formally organized and admitted into union at the General Convention on September 7th of that year. The Reverend Dr. Wheaton was the clerical deputy and Joseph Lovell represented the lay order.

The First Convention of the new Diocese met in Christ Church, New Orleans, January 16, 1839. On motion of Mr. Lucius Duncan it was unanimously resolved, "That the Diocese of Louisiana be and hereby is placed under the full Episcopal charge and authority of the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, D. D., Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, agree-

¹*Journal of General Convention, 1835, p. 111.*

ably to the provision of the 3rd Canon of the General Convention; and that he be respectfully requested to accept the same". This Convention lasted one day. Two clergymen and four laymen were present.

The Second Convention of the Diocese was held on January 15, 1840, in Christ Church, New Orleans, its first rector, then Bishop of Illinois, Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D. D., presiding. Rev. N. S. Wheaton, President of the Standing Committee, reported that, in obedience to the direction of the last Convention, he had written to Bishop Polk, and was in receipt of the following reply:

"Columbia, Tenn. February 14, 1839.

To the Rev. N. S. Wheaton, President of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Louisiana.

Rev. and dear Sir:

Your favor of the 16th. January, covering certain resolutions of the Convention of the Diocese of Louisiana, placing that Diocese under my 'full charge and authority, according to the provisions of the 3rd Canon of the General Convention of 1838, and requesting my acceptance of the same' is received.

For the kind manner in which the Committee has chosen to discharge the duty imposed on it by the Convention, you will please accept my cordial thanks, with assurances that I accede to the wishes of the Convention with much pleasure and that I will contribute whatever services I can, consistently with other engagements, to the furtherance of the interests of our beloved Church in your Diocese.

With sentiments of great respect,

Affectionately, your friend and brother

Leonidas Polk."

The Bishop was as good as his word. We find him wending his way on a steamboat down the Red River from his visitation of places in the disputed territory between the United States and Texas. The boat struck a snag; the captain, in despair, thought of abandoning it, but the Bishop using his West Point training showed him how to save it. As he was anxious to continue his journey and another boat descending the river coming by, after assuring himself that all was well he took passage on that boat and arrived in Shreveport, La., on Friday, March 22, 1839. No religious service of any sort had ever been held in that wild and primitive settlement, and a rowdy and boisterous element living along the river front boasted that none should be held. The Bishop was informed of the threats, and attempting to secure a place for holding the service found great difficulty in so doing, bond had to be given for the safety of the building. With the aid of a fellow traveller whom he had befriended, the place was cleaned up, a table spread with a clean

cloth and a Bible placed thereon, and a hand bell rung. The rowdies began to gather and were preparing to make good their threat, when the boat which the Bishop had saved arrived. The captain thereof being informed of the danger threatening his friend, armed his crew with marlingspikes and bludgeons and started post-haste for the scene of promised trouble, vowing as he went, "If that preacher wants to hold service, he is going to do it, or we'll know the reason why. He's a man, and we'll stand by him". That settled it, the ruffians were afraid to attempt anything and slunk away, so the first service was held in Shreveport, which Bishop Polk prophesied would become the second largest city in Louisiana, as it is today. It was two years before he was able to revisit Shreveport. He reports to the Convention that in the interval, "not a solitary sermon had been preached in the village by a minister of any denomination".

It was truly a wild and untamed country into which this dauntless Bishop had come. He reports to the Conventions the many hardships encountered. Of riding in springless open wagons for weary miles over trails, not roads, of swimming swollen streams and sleeping on unginned cotton, and he was far from being the robust man we ordinarily associate with such experiences.

Bishop Polk was a man of commanding appearance; his soldierly and courtly manner made him noted wherever he went. The following has often been told of him. In the dining room of the old Washington Hotel, Vicksburg, Miss., one morning as he sat at the table, the head waiter, an elderly Negro with the manners of a Chesterfield, went to where the Bishop was sitting, and bowing low, said to him, "Good morning, General, what can I serve you?" "You are wrong there," said the Bishop, "I'm not a General." Not at all abashed, the wily Senegambian bowed again, as he said, "Good morning, Judge, what will you have?" "Wrong again," said the Bishop, "I'm not a Judge." Making another effort, and with a profound bow, the waiter said, "Good morning, Bishop, what may I serve you?" "Right this time. Why did you address me as you did?" "Cause, sah!" said the astute Negro, "I knowed you was at de head of de profession whateber it was."

Thus did Bishop Polk impress all who came in contact with him, from the lowest to the highest. Added to this soldierly bearing he was easy to approach, had a marvelous memory for names and faces, and the ability to make and keep friends. It was the strength of his personality and his real interest in everyone that made and preserves the name of Leonidas Polk as one ever to be remembered in the annals of the Diocese of Louisiana.

On his first visit to Louisiana Bishop Polk slowly journeyed down the Red River from Shreveport, arriving at Natchitoches on March

27th, 1839. There he found a small number of members of the Church and held services on Good Friday and Easter. He reached Alexandria on April 4th. He reports, "the friends of the Church were few, but desirous of the services of a minister". He had intended to go overland to south Louisiana by way of Opelousas, through what was known as the Attakapas Country, as he had been told that in that vicinity were many people from North Carolina and the east who were formerly associated with the Church, but owing to the difficulties of travel, through boundless forests or trackless swamps with no roads save wagon trails he had to abandon the project until later, and continued his journey down the Red and Mississippi Rivers in the leisurely fashion of the day. It was not until May 3d that he reached St. Francisville, where was Grace Church. Without stopping anywhere along the Mississippi River he made a quick trip to New Orleans, and on Rogation Sunday, May 5th, he held his first service here in Christ Church.

The Bishop's episcopal journeys were continuous throughout his vast jurisdiction, which included Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and a portion of Texas. Sometimes a visit would take him from home for six months at a time.

At a special meeting held in Christ Church, New Orleans, May 20, 1841, called by the Standing Committee for the purpose of electing a Bishop, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"To the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

Whereas, the Diocese of Louisiana, with its numerous and rapidly increasing population, presents an inviting field for the establishment of new parishes in connexion with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and

Whereas the slow progress it has hitherto made may, in a great measure, be attributed to the want of an Episcopal Overseer who could give his undivided attention to the spiritual concerns of the Diocese; and,

Whereas, while the Convention bears grateful testimony to the piety, fidelity, and arduous labors of the Missionary Bishop of Arkansas, of which the Church of Louisiana has enjoyed the benefit since it was placed under his charge, and reposes unabated confidence in his zeal in its behalf, and readiness to do all in his power to promote its interest, consistently with his duty to the Church in other portions of the wide region which now owns his spiritual jurisdiction, it cannot be insensible to the fact, that the self-devotion of no one man can be adequate to meet the spiritual wants of a population so large, and so destitute of the ordinances of Christianity; therefore,

Resolved, That the General Convention be, and hereby are.

requested to elect a Bishop over the Diocese of Louisiana, agreeably to the provisions of Canon 1, section 1 of the General Convention of 1838.

Resolved, That the Delegates to the next General Convention be, and hereby are instructed to present the aforesaid preamble and resolutions to that body, at its session in the City of New York, on the first Wednesday in October, 1841."

The action of the General Convention is thus recorded:

"House of Bishops, New York, October 16th, 1841.

On motion of Bishop Brownell, seconded by Bishop Otey,

Resolved, That the House do now proceed to nominate a Bishop for Louisiana. The House accordingly proceeded to ballot, when it appeared that the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, D. D., was unanimously elected, to be nominated to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

On the same day, at the evening session, the following message was received:

The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies informs the House of Bishops that they have concurred in the nomination, made by the House of Bishops, of the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, D. D., to be the Bishop of Louisiana.

Thereupon Bishop Polk, in person resigned the office of Missionary Bishop; and it was upon motion,

Resolved, That the resignation of Bishop Polk be accepted.

Bishop Polk then declared his acceptance of the office of Bishop of Louisiana.

A true copy.

(Attest).

Jona. M. Wainwright,
Secretary of the House of Bishops."

Bishop Polk presided at the fourth convention of the diocese, which met at New Orleans on January 20, 1842. There were then four clergymen and two hundred and twenty-two communicants. In his address the Bishop emphasized (1) The need of unity in the body; (2) By adherence to the guide marks of the Church, her creeds, homilies and services, referring all to the "most certain warrant of holy Scriptures"; (3) The making use of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; (4) And the absolute necessity of producing a native ministry. This necessity he never failed to refer to in every address, insisting that the "peculiar institution" of the South required men born under that system to realize their responsibility to care for and uplift the slaves, the white man's burden, wished upon them by other generations, in their efforts to enrich themselves from the products of the lands they owned.

Bishop Polk early realized that he must bring his family from their home near Columbia, Tenn., where a beautiful church had been erected nearby in a grove of trees in which slaves and masters worshipped regularly. Upon the death of his wife's mother, Mrs. Devereux, choice had to be made between taking slaves or money as his wife's portion of her inheritance. Both had very strong feelings about the Southern white man's responsibility to God for the Christianization and humanization of the Negroes, so they chose the slaves, and, when they moved to Louisiana, they brought the four hundred or more Negro slaves with them and settled down to live the life of a sugar planter on a large plantation near Thibodaux, which they named "Leighton". Bishop Polk makes many mentionings of his having held services for his slaves, and it is a well known fact that in addition to his own ministrations to them he at times paid out of his own funds the salary of one to minister to them.

Speaking of the needs of the Negro slaves, in his address to the Convention of 1843, he stresses the need of "Clergy from among ourselves, either from those who have come to make their homes among us, or from natives of the soil", especially as concerning the slaves, "There is a subject, my brethren, which most intimately concerns us as Christians and Christian ministers, in our peculiar field of labor; I mean provision for the religious instruction of the colored race. . . . Their claim to our attention and Christian offices here, is greatly strengthened by their peculiar condition of dependence. . . . In order, however, to ensure any great degree of success in this enterprise, we must have the countenance and hearty cooperation of our brethren of the laity. It is for them to open the door of access to this field. It is under the protection of their influence, that this work must be done. And upon this point, as far as my acquaintance goes, it gives me great pleasure to state, that I have in no instance found them backward, or indifferent to the furtherance of this object. It being distinctly understood and seen that our purpose is to teach all orders and degrees of men, in the language of our formularies, 'to do their duty in that state of life into which it has pleased God to call them'; that we are not political crusaders, but simple guileless teachers of that Gospel which was preached by our Saviour and His Apostles, in a region whose social condition was altogether similar to our own, that as they did not condescend, in the execution of their high errand, to dogmatize on the civil relations or rights of individuals, but rather to bind the consciences and the affections to the faithful discharge of the duties of those relations; and by the inculcation of right principles, to leave those relations themselves to be regulated by the intelligent consciences of the parties; so we, who have 'part of the same ministry and apostle-

ship', are chiefly concerned with the hearts and consciences of those to whom we go. This being perceived, I say no difficulty need be apprehended in obtaining access to all minds. In this connexion, too, may I be permitted to express the hope that the day is not distant when the Church, by wise and temperate legislation, will open the way for our obtaining the services of a class of men suited to the instruction of this decription of persons; and when she may, with less jealousy for her intellectual reputation, and more concern for the salvation of the perishing multitudes around her, adopt measures by which she may challenge for herself, with some propriety, the character of preaching the Gospel to the poor."

The years passed rapidly by. Bishop Polk journeyed from end to end of his Diocese establishing parish after parish, particularly in the southern part of Louisiana, which was known as "The Sugar Belt". A few planters would center around a common spot, a church, frequently of handsome Gothic design and of enduring brick, would be built, a clergyman secured for a nominal salary, a rectory built, and, if he was qualified and would teach, great was the rejoicing, as the era of public schools was decades removed, and it was the ambitious desire of the Bishop to have a parochial school alongside of each parish established. This formation of tiny parishes, and giving to them the same representation in the Conventions or Councils (as later they have been called) of the Diocese, as larger and more lasting parishes, has presented problems to later Bishops and Councils, and only in recent years solved, where possible, by granting full parochial status only to those congregations which, unaided by grouping together, or by aid of Mission funds, are by their own efforts able to give a living salary to their Minister.

Bishop Polk was not only a "States' Rights" advocate in civil matters, but also in ecclesiastical. He said, "We all feel that the power of appointing the Missionaries in our own Diocese, and directing and controlling their movements, belongs, under our system, of necessity and propriety, to the Bishops. The Missionaries ought then to be appointed by the Bishops of the respective Dioceses, to whom they should be directly responsible. Each Bishop, in the conduct of Missions in his own Diocese, it is presumed, would desire a Council of Advice, which, under the character of a Missionary Committee, should be charged, as the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Board now is, with the receiving from abroad, collecting and appropriating funds for the support of the Missionaries". He suggested that these Missionary Committees, with their secretaries and treasurers, "being charged with the duty of voting salaries to the Missionaries, would relieve the Bishops

from that unpleasant duty, on the one hand, and the Missionaries from a feeling of dependence on their Bishops on the other". He was an ardent advocate of sending Bishops to supervise the work at home and in foreign fields. As a business man he looked at the Church work in a business way; urging publicity that the work might be made known, and the rendering account of the monies received and expended in each Bishop's work. He said, "When the Church sends her funds abroad for the spread of the Gospel, she has the right to know how they have been applied, and what amount of good her benefactions are accomplishing. . . . It is legitimate, therefore, that she should require of the Bishops, whether Foreign or Domestic, in whose jurisdiction expenditures are made, periodical reports of the associations under their charge. . . . These would be published, of course, through *The Spirit of Missions*, and would place the Church in possession of the desired information. . . . Nor need these reports be considered as superseding communications from the Missionaries themselves, who might be as free as at present to state the condition of their respective fields of labor, furnish such intelligence as might be deemed edifying, or make appeals for pecuniary aid, additional labor, or an interest in the prayers of God's faithful people". He concludes this address with the request that "a Diocesan Missionary Committee" be appointed, and the following were chosen: Rev. N. S. Wheaton, D. D., Rev. D. S. Lewis and Messrs. Thomas Sloo and Benjamin Lowndes.

In his conciliar address of 1844, Bishop Polk refers "to the past year" as "one of more or less agitation in the church and world at large, upon the subject of faith and order of the gospel", and he refers to his own views as set forth in his address to the first Convention of the Diocese, with which, in speaking of the clergy of the Diocese, he says, "I have great pleasure in knowing the clergy of the Diocese, as a body, unite most cordially. They steadfastly adhere to the truth and appointments of the Gospel, as set forth and embodied in our liturgy, articles and homilies. Their conviction is that our blessed Lord organized, ordained and commissioned a church, to which He entrusted the work of the conversion of sinners, and the confirmation of the faithful. To this church He has committed His written word, to be faithfully dispensed by it, as that sure warrant of Holy Scripture, so containing all things necessary for salvation, that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man to be believed as an article of faith, or to be thought requisite to salvation. . . . Our confidence is that Almighty God will still continue to vouchsafe the grace which has hitherto protected us, so that as a Diocese we may be found in the old paths of the Reformation and the early church. . . . May we have grace, my brethren, while we all seek to maintain the truth,

and are striving for the faith once delivered to the saints, to exhibit a spirit of kindness towards those with whom we differ, whether within our fold or without; so that it may be seen that our purpose is not so much the establishment of the dogmas of a sect or faction, as to settle and make permanent those great truths, indispensable to the perfection of the plan of common salvation”.

At the next Diocesan Convention the Bishop calls attention to the passage by the last General Convention of a Canon suggested in his address of two years previous, by which it was made possible to ordain men to the Diaconate “with qualifications inferior to those demanded by our Canons hitherto”; explaining the need therefor in reaching the slave population, and “also for that large number of others in our cities and rural districts of moderate intelligence, and for whose instruction a very high degree of cultivation can in no wise be deemed necessary”. He emphasizes our Lord’s command to His Church to “go teach”, as he so aptly put it, “The education of our children should be in our hands. Others may do it well. We ought not to allow that they can do it better. And we cannot—with safety to ourselves—in view of our spiritual engagements, to teach them all things, that as Christians, ‘they ought to know and believe to their souls’ health’—divest ourselves of this high duty. From the moment the Church receives them into her bosom, and consecrates them to the service of the Lord at his altar—through all the period of their intellectual and moral training—they should not cease to feel her maternal hand upon them, employed in giving shape and proportion to their intellectual and social beings”.

“On turning to the history of the Diocese since 1841,” the Bishop says in his address in 1854, “at which time I took charge of it as its first Bishop, it will be perceived there were at that time, four organized congregations: Trinity Church, Natchitoches; Grace Church, St. Francisville; St. Paul’s and Christ Churches, New Orleans. Of these, the three last only, had church edifices. Our list of clergy, embracing parish ministers and teachers of youth, amounted to six. Communicants in all these parishes, to 238. The population of the Diocese amounted to about 500,000. We have, after the lapse of thirteen years, 32 organized parishes, in which have been built and consecrated or are now ready for consecration, 20 church edifices, and of the remaining 12, several are taking active measures to build. Besides these 32 organized congregations, composed chiefly of white persons, we have 23 others, in different parts of the Diocese, composed of the slaves on as many plantations; making in the average 55. For the construction of church edifices, there has been collected and expended, in the aggregate, about \$350,000. Our list of clergy, exclusive of the three taken off by the late

epidemic" (Yellow Fever), "has increased from 6 to 23. Our communicants from 238 to 1,421. . . . Our work is but fairly begun, new regions are opening before us and calling loudly for help. Our people are willing to provide for the support for the ministrations of religion among them. Our chief want is ministerial labor. Labor that counts not life dear unto it, that it may fill up the full measure of its calling in an un-shrinking self-denial and hearty devotion to the building up the Kingdom of God in the souls of men".

Yellow Fever having broken out with unprecedented virulence while the Bishop was in attendance at the General Convention in New York in 1853, he hurried back to "Leighton", his plantation home on Bayou La Fourche. This epidemic completed what the cholera of 1848-1849 and the tornado and hailstorm of 1850 had left unfinished. The cholera had taken 106 of the 400 slaves, the tornado and hailstorm occurring while the Diocesan Convention was in session in Thibodaux and the members at a reception at Leighton Plantation house, demolished the sugar house, destroyed the barns and levelled many of the Negro cabins, killing the stock, causing a loss of over \$100,000. The Bishop and Mrs. Polk struggled bravely on, but Yellow Fever returning in 1854, the Bishop narrowly escaped death, as friend after friend around him died; he surrendered the plantation to his creditors and moved to New Orleans with his family. About January 1st, 1856, he accepted the invitation of the Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church to become their rector, and held that office until March 23rd, 1860; during a part of this time he had an assistant, the last being the Rev. John Fulton, whom he made Deacon on May 27th, 1858, and ordained to the Priesthood on May 31st, 1858. For thirteen years Bishop Polk had served with practically no salary, the Diocese, however, contributing somewhat towards his travelling expenses, the largest amount, \$1,475, being paid him in 1852. In 1853 the Diocese promised \$4,000 per annum, and engaged the Rev. Amos D. McCoy, a man of dynamic power and unflagging energy, to raise an endowment for the episcopate, hoping that the interest thereon would be sufficient to meet the expenses.

Realizing the lack of educational advantages in the South, the Bishop set to work to effect a change. In his address to the Convention of 1858 he made public to his own Diocese, under thirteen heads, the steps that had been taken to draw the Dioceses of the extreme South into a closer union by their having a common end and purpose in a great institution of learning, with feeders throughout the South, which should be forever under their joint control. Underlying it all is or was a recognition of "the peculiarities of our social condition . . . , the homogenous character of our population, the similarity of their pursuits, and the identity of their institutions". In every subsequent address

Bishop Polk dwells at length, and with no little rejoicing, that this dream of his life—the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee—was being so heartily welcomed by lovers of the South and its “peculiar institutions”. But since to another has been assigned the story of Bishop Polk’s connection with that institution, I refer to it only in passing, and sadly note that as the result of the clashing opinions of the peoples of this land and the fratricidal strife, which brought about the collapse of nearly all of his and his brother bishops’ plans for the University, and the death on the battlefield of this great Bishop, that institution—Sewanee—has had a mighty struggle to play its part worthily in the sight of God and of men.

Bishop Polk notes the formation of a “Free Church Congregation” in New Orleans, in his address in 1860, where many members of the Church who had drifted to New Orleans to repair their fortunes, but on account of scant resources were unable to pay the pew rent then almost universal, and were remaining away from her services. He calls attention to the need of a home for the orphans of the Church, as “we are entirely able to take charge of these little ones ourselves, and to afford them all the sympathy and support, the intellectual and religious training their destitution demands.” He hoped it would be state-wide in scope.

The Church in Louisiana was at its peak; new parishes were being established, church and school buildings erected, the care of the slaves carried on; the number of clergy had increased from 6 to 32, of congregations in union with the Diocesan Council from 3 to 40; not in union from 1 to 6, which does not include the 30 or more congregations of slaves that were gathered together to have the Gospel preached to them when the shadows of the impending “War Between the States” grew darker and darker.

The seriousness of the situation appalled everyone; the President of the United States had set aside “a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer”. In furtherance of the President’s request, Bishop Polk wrote and sent out this prayer under date of December 29, 1860, to be used on that occasion, “and at such other times as may seem advisable during the existing emergency”.

PRAYER

“O Almighty God, Fountain of all wisdom, and the Helper of all who call upon Thee: We, Thy unworthy servants, under a deep sense of the difficulties and dangers by which we are now surrounded, turn our hearts to Thee in earnest supplication and prayer. We humble ourselves before Thee; we confess that as a nation and as individuals we have grievously offended

Thee; and that our sins have justly provoked Thy wrath and indignation against us. Deal not with us, O Lord, according to our iniquities, but according to Thy great and tender mercies, and forgive us all that is past. Turn Thine anger from us, and visit us not with those evils we most justly have deserved. Guide and direct us in all our consultations; save us from all ignorance, error, pride and prejudice; and, if it please Thee, compose and heal the divisions which disturb us. Or else, if in Thy good providence it be otherwise appointed, grant, we beseech Thee, that the spirit of wisdom and moderation may preside over our councils, that the just rights of all may be maintained and accorded, and the blessings of peace preserved to us and our children throughout all generations. All which we ask through the merits and meditation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen."

On January 26, 1861, the State of Louisiana passed the Ordinance of Secession, thereby severing her association with the United States of America; it having become "*un fait accompli*", Bishop Polk being in line with the great preponderance of the leaders of the South who believed in "States Rights"; that is to say—if a State had the right to form a union with others, when it seemed to her advantage, when it was to her disadvantage to remain in the same, she could withdraw; for, being a sovereign State, she had that right.

January 30, 1861, he writes a Pastoral Letter "To the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Louisiana", in which he says in part: "My beloved Brethren—The State of Louisiana having, by a formal ordinance, through her Delegates in Convention assembled, withdrawn herself from all connection with the United States of America, and constituted herself a separate Sovereignty, has, by that act, removed our Diocese from within the pale of 'The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States'. We have, therefore, an independent Diocesan existence. . . . Our separation from our brethren of 'The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States' has been effected, because we must follow our Nationality. Not because there has been any difference of opinion as to Catholic Doctrine or Catholic usage. Upon these points we are still one. With us it is a separation, not division, certainly not alienation. And there is no reason why, if we should find the union of our individual Diocese under one National Church impracticable, we should cease to feel for each other the respect and regard with which purity of manners, high principles and a manly devotion to the truth never fail to inspire generous minds. Our relations to each other hereafter will be the relations we both hold now to the men of our Mother Church of England."

He orders the words, "The President of the United States," deleted

from the Prayer for those in Civil Authority, and "The Governor of this State", substituted; in the "Prayer for Congress" that the words, "The people of these United States in general, and especially for their Senate and Representatives in Congress assembled", be deleted, and there be substituted, "The people of this State in general, and especially for their legislature now in session". This was followed by a "Prayer to be used during the session of this State and during the session of the Convention to be composed of such other States as have withdrawn from the late Federal Union, and propose to join Louisiana in the formation of a separate Government".

Another Pastoral Letter was sent out February 20, 1861. In it Bishop Polk orders that the words, "The President of the United States" be deleted from the "Prayer for those in Civil Authority", and the words, "The President of the Confederate States", be substituted. And in the special prayer sent out on January 30th for the words, "and the Convention of the Southern States", substitute the words, "and the Congress of the Confederate States". "The prayer for the Legislature, as already indicated, will be continued during its sessions".

The question as to the disposition of "such funds as have been usually raised for Foreign and Domestic Missions" having arisen, Bishop Polk sends another Pastoral, which, for its breath of view at such a time, is indeed unique. Emphasizing again that separation from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States is a "change in Church *Union*, not of Church *Unity*", he writes, "In the mean season, as our confidence, in its largest measure in the Christian integrity, zeal and judiciousness of our brethren who have charge of the Foreign and Domestic Missions of the Church is undiminished, I recommend that such funds as may have been, or may hereafter be, collected for those objects, be sent forward as heretofore. Such changes as may be expedient will be made, as events progress, and as expediency may dictate".

The Committee on the State of the Church, through its Chairman, Rev. John Fulton, presented a logical and cogent defense for the changed relationship in which the Diocese now found itself, and reported that the Diocese of Louisiana "is desirous of entering into Union with the remaining Dioceses of the Confederate States of America", and suggested that delegates be appointed by the Convention to "a Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America to be held at Montgomery, in the State of Alabama, on the 3d of July next". Three clerical and three lay delegates, with as many alternates in each order, were chosen; the Bishop was given authority to fill all vacancies. The Convention adjourned to meet on the first Wednesday in May, 1862, in Christ Church, New Orleans.

No record can be found of the Diocese of Louisiana having formally gone into union with the other dioceses of the Southern States with which it was planned to form the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America.

An attempt was made to hold a convention at Christ Church, New Orleans, on May 7, 1862. This is the record—"The secretary (Rev. John Fulton) reported to the chair that six parishes only were represented, whereupon a representation from fourteen parishes being required by the Constitution of the Diocese to organize the Convention, the minutes were read and approved, and the meeting adjourned *sine die*".

The Twenty-fifth Convention was held in St. Paul's Church, May 16th-19th, 1866, inclusive, which evidences the fact that no meetings were held during the period of "The War Between the States". During the war, the Bishop of Louisiana was at the front, but, at his request, Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, D. D., of Tennessee, and Rt. Rev. Henry C. Lay, D. D., of Arkansas, were to have made visitations in the Diocese. Bishop Otey was prevented from doing so by illness, but Bishop Lay was able to go to Shreveport, De Soto, Bastrop, Morehouse Parish, Alexandria, Cheneyville and Williamsport, but on account of the unsettled condition of the war-riven country was unable to go further. He reports that in each place he conveyed a message from Bishop Polk to his people to the effect, "That although considerations of duty had taken him away from them, his heart was always with them, that his highest ambition was to be permitted to resume his proper duties, and his most earnest desire to go in and out among them once more preaching the Kingdom of God; that he sent his love and his blessing", which "message, when delivered, elicited the response of tears and loving replies".

RESUME

	1841	1861	1841-1861
Ordinations—Deacons			16
Priests			19
Confirmed			3,317
Clergy	6	32	32
Congregations	4	80*	80*
Churches (buildings)	3		33

In 1841 Bishop Polk assumed charge as First Bishop of the Diocese of Louisiana. In 1861 "The War Between the States" broke out, and Bishop Polk was called to the front.

**This includes some twenty-five congregations of Negro slaves.*

The Twenty-fifth Annual Convention of the Diocese of Louisiana was held in St. Paul's Church, New Orleans, May 16th-19th, 1866, inclusive. At this Convention the Diocese paid fitting and heartfelt tribute* to the heroic and sacrificial ministry of its first Bishop, took steps to liquidate the arrearages due on his salary, rescinded the action taken on the 1st May, 1861, by which it ceased to be a Diocese in connection with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and readopted the Constitution and Canons of the National Church, sending notice of such action to the Presiding Bishop of the Church. The distressed conditions of the Church in Louisiana at that time are set forth in the brief and heartrending Report of the Committee on the State of the Church:

"The Committee on the State of the Church have but little to report, and that little most distressing.

Our church edifices have almost all been injured, and some totally destroyed.

Our people have been so deeply impoverished that they can neither repair their edifices nor support their ministers.

But our clergy, faithful to their responsibilities, are found

**Resolutions passed at the Diocesan Convention of Louisiana, May 17, 1866.*

RESOLVED, That in the appointment by the General Convention in 1841, of the Rt. Leonidas Polk, D. D., then Missionary Bishop of the Southwest, to Episcopal Jurisdiction over the Diocese of Louisiana, we recognize, with gratitude to God, the elevation over us of one eminently qualified in mental endowments and Christian graces, to administer the office of a Bishop to the glory of God, and particularly adapted, by personal and social characteristics, to meet the peculiar wants of the Church in Louisiana.

RESOLVED, That this Convention entertain a deep sense of the value of the services rendered to this Diocese during the administration of Bishop Polk, and of his enlightened devotion to the spiritual interests of the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him Overseer. The Episcopal addresses, annually delivered before the Conventions, bear witness to the abundance of his labors; while the growth of the church, its general prosperity up to the date of the late unhappy war between the States, and the unbroken harmony which prevailed throughout the Diocese, indicate the prudence and energy of his government.

RESOLVED, That this Convention call to mind, with melancholy satisfaction, the many generous and noble traits of character which distinguished our late Father in God in all his official intercourse with the members of this Diocese, and appeared conspicuously in all his private and social relations to the clergy and laity of the church, who will long cherish the memory of their departed Bishop, as an affectionate father, a judicious counsellor and a sympathizing friend.

RESOLVED, That in the plan devised for the creation of "the University of the South", and in the measures adopted to secure the permanent endowment of that great enterprise for the religious and intellectual development of the country, we recognize that broad and comprehensive Christian philanthropy, and that enlightened devotion to the best interest of the Church in the South, which so eminently characterized our late Father in God, in whose mind the noble project had its birth, and by whose untiring energies, in connection with others, like minded, in Southern Dioceses, it had been well nigh brought to a successful achievement, when arrested by the unhappy convulsions of the country.

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions, with a letter by the President of this Convention, expressing the Christian sympathies of the church in Louisiana, be addressed to the afflicted family of our deceased Bishop.

at their posts, suffering with their people as willingly as they once rejoiced together; and ignoring the past, attentive to the present and anticipating the future, we all look to God, with chastened hearts, to build up the waste places of our Zion, and in due time to put to scorn the ignorance of foolish men who, in their hostility to the members of the church, have ruthlessly invaded the sanctuaries of God.

This, in a few words, is the melancholy history of the present state of the church in our midst.

W. T. Leacock,
Chairman of Committee."

The Rev. Joseph Pere Bell Wilmer, of the Diocese of Maryland, was elected second Bishop of Louisiana, accepted and was consecrated on November 7th, 1866. As if the conditions reported above were not enough, Bishop Wilmer faced unflinchingly the terrible period known as "Reconstruction Days", which pressed most heavily on South Carolina and Louisiana, yellow fever epidemics, floods, financial panics and other ills, yet when suddenly called to his reward on December 2, 1878, he had confirmed 4,777 persons, made 21 deacons, ordained 22 priests; the congregations, which had fallen from 80 in 1861 to 30 in 1866, had increased to 74, and church buildings from 26 to 48, while the number of communicants had almost trebled—being then 4,351.

The Rev. John Nicholas Galleher, then rector of Zion Church, New York city, a former colonel on General Simon B. Buckner's (C. S. A.) staff, and at one time rector of Trinity Church, New Orleans, was elected third Bishop of Louisiana, accepted and was consecrated in Trinity Church, on February 5th, 1880. During his episcopate of eleven years the Children's Home for orphan girls, which had been instituted some time before, was greatly improved, the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions was born and has since taken an increasing part in the life of the Diocese. His health failing it became necessary for him to have an assistant, and the Rev. Davis Sessums, then rector of Christ Church, was elected and consecrated on June 24th, 1891. At the death of Bishop Galleher on December 7th, 1891, he became fourth Bishop of Louisiana.

During Bishop Sessums episcopate of thirty-eight years vast improvements were made, many handsome churches and parish houses were built, and at the University of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, what is perhaps one of the finest and most complete Student Centres, consisting of chapel, auditorium and living quarters for the student pastor, was erected at a cost of over \$50,000. The communicants increased from 4,898 to 12,694 and confirmed persons from 5,391 to 17,885. Bishop Sessums died suddenly on Christmas Eve, 1929.

At a special meeting of the Council, as the Diocesan meetings are now called, held May 14th, 1930, in St. James Church, Alexandria, the Rt. Rev. James Craik Morris, D. D., Missionary Bishop of the Panama Canal Zone, was elected fifth Bishop of Louisiana; he accepted, and assumed active charge of the Diocese in September of that year. His episcopate has been marked by a steady growth, the liquidation of parochial and diocesan obligations despite our passing through "The Great Depression", and more recently by the observation of the Centennial of the Diocese and the raising of a large sum, the interest of which will be used as each Council directs for diocesan objectives. The Diocese is reported as being "out of debt". The slogan of the Centennial Observance Committee was, "Strengthen the Church for a new Century", and it has nobly done its work.

Looking back over the past one hundred years and more of the Diocese, with its high aspirations and failures, its gains and its losses, the Church in Louisiana thankfully bears testimony to the unremitting toil and ceaseless endeavors of its five bishops, and, spurred by their example and the responsibility of bearing witness to that faith once delivered to the Apostles, girds itself for the work of the future, "looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before Him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God".

LEONIDAS POLK AND THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH

*By Moultrie Guerry**

TURN to you, Reverend Sir, and say . . . that when it pleaseth God, your Master, to stay your radiant and strong right arm from His battlefields on earth, and call you to share His everlasting triumph, the heavens and your grateful country will read on your gravestone, *The Founder of the University of the South.*"

This tribute to Bishop Leonidas Polk came at the close of the oration of the Hon. John S. Preston, of South Carolina, whose eloquence was heard at the laying of the corner-stone of the University on Sewanee Mountain, October 10, 1860. Without discredit to others whose work was of great importance, this relationship as founder to the early origins of the University can be fairly substantiated.

The beginnings of the idea of a great liberal university can be traced back to Polk's conversion at West Point in 1826 and his interest in the invitation to be a professor at the new Amherst College. When his father objected to this retreat from the ancestral military profession and Polk decided on the Ministry, his father insisted that he had better go traveling! No doubt his wanderings did not carry him off the path of education in this country, but certainly when he went abroad in 1833 he took special interest in the great universities of Europe and their influences upon the lives of the nations. The biographer of "*Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General*", who was his son, William M. Polk, M. D., LL. D., is emphatic about his father's interest in the institutions of Europe in connection with the need for such in the United States. In 1834, when he joined Bishop Otey, of the Diocese of Tennessee, Polk immediately became the right-hand partner in his projects in education. Polk was head of a female institute at Columbia and chairman of the Committee to found a Seminary of classical and theological learning which Otey had proposed in his convention in 1832. The projected "Madison College" did not reach fulfillment owing to the depression of 1837. When Polk was made Missionary Bishop of the Southwest in 1838, the immediate partnership of these men in the plans for an institution of higher learning for Tennessee and the neighboring territory came

*Chaplain of the University of the South since 1929. Author of "*Men Who Made Sewanee*," 1932. Ed. Note.

to a temporary end. When the idea of a university was again projected, in 1856, it came directly and almost completely from the mind of Polk, then Bishop of Louisiana.

Of this new and vaster undertaking, we may read the following interesting comments which give credit directly to Leonidas Polk. Of the greatest interest, perhaps, is the address of Bishop Otey to his diocesan convention in 1857. After reviewing the great need of education and reminding his people how "Time and again attention has been earnestly called to this subject by your bishop from the beginning of his episcopate"; he went on to say: "A movement has been made outside of the diocese in which the Bishop of Louisiana, whom we all know and honor for his enlarged and enlightened vision, has taken the lead, which looks to the establishment and endowment of an institution on the most liberal scale." The Reverend David Green Haskins, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, while he was dean-elect of the proposed theological school at Sewanee, prepared, in 1877, a most interesting account of the University, illustrated with primitive pictures. He says on page twenty-six: "The University was first suggested, and the plan of it outlined in a pamphlet bearing date of July 1, 1856, addressed by the late Bishop of Louisiana to his brethren, etc." The Reverend Dr. David Pise, a trustee from Tennessee when the University was first organized, wrote in 1866, "What a trio, Otey, Polk, Elliott! They were the three grandest men I ever saw together. In the center of the group stands the originator of the most magnificent enterprise of the age; on either hand, his noble compeers in that grand scheme". The Reverend Dr. Telfair Hodgson, Vice-Chancellor, and actually the first dean of the theological school, wrote, "With that indefinable power of holding others to his objects, Bishop Polk was undoubtedly the man who originated the notion of a union of dioceses in the foundation of the University of the South. . . . It is likewise true that to Bishop Polk's personal influence and genius for organization is due the merit of successfully inaugurating the movement. His appeal to the planters of Louisiana and the other Southern dioceses for indorsement in the premises and for funds was, in its promptness and consummation, like a brilliant military movement. As it were, in one campaign the success of the University of the South was assured."

With these last words we establish most characteristically Bishop Polk's relationship to the University: certainly its leader in the founding and its "General" in the campaign for its accomplishment. He was not a "builder of a tower who sitteth not down first and counteth the cost whether he have sufficient to finish it". He was not a "king who sitteth not down first and consulteth" before he move his armies into battle (St. Luke XIV:28-31).

Evidently the Bishop, in spite of the manifold duties of caring for a New Orleans parish and building a diocese, had thought carefully about the project. He seems to have thought of every contingency, and amazed and persuaded everyone by his answers to all their doubts and questions. The Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins, of Vermont, writes with the highest praises to his two friends in the South, Polk and Elliott, saying: "The Lord has raised you up for this noblest work in your day and generation." Writing to Mrs. Polk, February 14, 1867, Presiding Bishop Hopkins describes his visit to the grounds of the university where he was invited in 1859 to exercise his art in landscaping, and says of Polk, "He brought with him to Sewanee at that time a large box entirely filled with the result of correspondence with the leading men in Europe, and the scholastic institutions of the Old World, as well as laborious and thoroughly digested projects for a southern university which, when completed, was to be the noblest and best-endowed in Christendom. . . . I was amazed and delighted at the combination of original genius, lofty enterprise, and Christian hope with the utmost degree of practical wisdom, cautious investigation, exquisite tact, and indefatigable energy, which far surpass all that I could conceive in the bounds of human efficiency".

Let us go back now and follow in sequence the steps taken by the founders of the University.

The movement actually started with Bishop Polk's letter of July 1, 1856, to his fellow bishops in the southern dioceses south of Kentucky and Virginia. What that lengthy letter said, supported by other correspondence, is summarized in "Men Who Have Made Sewanee" as follows:

"Space does not permit a full account of how Bishop Polk planned and carried through the actual organization of the University in 1856-7:—how, after his experience in Europe in 1833 and his work with Bishop Otey, the idea grew and took shape in his mind; how in 1852 he began collecting material from the educational systems of England, France, and Prussia, scheming to found 'an Oxford, a Gottingen, or a Bonn, or all three combined . . . neither in spirit of servile copyists nor yet with . . . superiority to the lessons of experience'; how he favored from the first a healthful domain apart and central to the South on the Cumberland Mountains; how he outlined a University Society on a grand scale, with groups of colleges, with sessions in the pleasanter months of the year where students and people might have refuge from malaria, attracting lecturers from this country and abroad, and visitors who desired to take advantage of the centre of culture; with a press and literary magazine; with sacred music; with homes of cultivated people rather than barracks for students to dwell in; how he expected the University to radiate civilizing influences that

would affect every class in the South, and not least of all the subject races, through an enlightened people who must prepare the Negroes for the freedom they seemed as yet unable to use; and how it was to be a church capital transcending all narrow and mere diocesan tendencies. He wrote at length to Bishop Elliott in this vein and said:

“There is no reason why . . . we might not in five years have a Church University which would rival Harvard and Yale. A movement of some kind is indispensable to rally and unite us, to develop our resources and demonstrate our power.’”

The letter was not only comprehensive and compelling, but well-timed. An earlier date would not have found the southern dioceses duly organized with episcopal leadership and ready to join in a great province-wide enterprise. The educational efforts of Otey, whose college had not come to completion, and of Elliott, whose Woman's College at Montpelier in Georgia had failed for lack of support, and other struggling attempts in divided localities made timely the statement: “What we may not do singly, we may with ease do collectively.” Furthermore, Polk's letter in July gave plenty of opportunity for each bishop to think deeply about the proposal before the date of the General Convention the following fall, where Bishop Polk asked them to assemble and decide what could be done about this plan.

On October 23, 1856, in Philadelphia, the bishops of the southern dioceses having met and enthusiastically endorsed the united endeavor, sent forth a letter: “To Members and Friends of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Southern and Southwestern states.” The letter was signed by J. H. Otey of Tennessee, Leonidas Polk of Louisiana, Stephen Elliott of Georgia, N. H. Cobbs of Alabama, George W. Freeman of Arkansas, Missionary District of the Southwest, W. M. Green of Mississippi, F. H. Rutledge of Florida, Thomas F. Davis of South Carolina, and Thomas Atkinson of North Carolina. This letter, much in the vein of its predecessor by Bishop Polk, summoned each diocese to send its trustees, consisting of the bishop, one clergyman and two laymen to organize at a meeting during the following summer. The first article in the proposal was, “That the University should in all its parts be under the sole and perpetual direction of the Protestant Episcopal Church as represented by the dioceses united in its foundation”. The letter from these bishops at General Convention reveals high enthusiasm:—

“We have, thus, dear brethren, presented and developed a measure which we regard as the most important, in view of all its relations, ever presented to the American Church. For

ourselves, we are deeply persuaded, that it far transcends in the promise of its usefulness, any merely local or diocesan enterprise, it would be possible for our diocese to get up separately; and that its combinations are of a character to insure always to our children and our children's children, to many generations, the largest and most varied amount of talent for their intellectual culture, as well as the soundest moral and religious influence, it is in our power to provide for them. To do this, is to make the best investment for our posterity, and to lay upon the altar of our country, the most appropriate offering that could be tendered by the citizen or the Christian."

The first meeting to organize a Board of Trustees was held on Look-out Mountain, Chattanooga, Tennessee, July 4, 1857. With the exception of Bishop Freeman all of the bishops who signed the call to the southern dioceses were present, with the following clerical and lay delegates,—the Reverend M. Ashly Curtiss, D. D., North Carolina, the Reverend Alexander Gregg of South Carolina, the Reverend Henry C. Lay, Messrs. C. T. Pollard, and L. H. Anderson of Alabama, the Reverend W. W. Lord of Mississippi, the Reverend W. T. Leacock, D. D., and Mr. George S. Guion of Louisiana, the Reverend J. W. Dunn of Texas, and the Reverend Davis Pise, D. D., and Messrs. Francis P. Fogg and John Armfield of Tennessee. That the State of Tennessee appreciated the movement is shown by words in the Act to establish the University on the part of the General Assembly of Tennessee in 1858, wherein was written, "And, whereas, the security of society, the supremacy of the law, the preservation of liberty regulated by law, the perpetuity of our institutions, of the intelligence of the people and sound moral sense among them, etc." The view that the projected university would greatly serve such purposes seems to have been shared universally by people of other churches and in all walks of life and was looked upon with both patriotic and religious devotion.

We cannot include here a detailed description of the exercises at the organizing of the Board of Trustees or of its succeeding meetings in Montgomery, Alabama, November 25, 1857, in Beersheba, Tennessee, July 4, 1858, and again August 19, 1859, in New Orleans, February 8, 1860, and finally October 10, 1860, at "University Place", Sewanee, Tennessee; but through these meetings under the presiding of Bishop Otey as their Chancellor, Leonidas Polk, was given the greatest amount of responsibility as chairman of committees on location, constitution and code of statutes, and endowment.

(1) LOCATION. From the beginning Bishop Polk had proposed the location of the University upon the plateau mountains of lower Tennessee, which seemed to be convenient to a united southern enterprise; because of the construction of railroads which had a natural

center near Chattanooga. The spot was healthful, cool enough in summer with its elevations and not desperately cold in winter. With his usual fairness and judgment, however, he employed Mr. Walter Gwynn, an engineer and a cultivated gentleman, with others, to go over all the sites offered for the location of the University. He prepared a questionnaire which would give the trustees thoroughly scientific and detailed data. Facts were, therefore, prepared regarding sites at Huntsville, Alabama, Chattanooga, Sewanee, McMinnville, and Cleveland, Tennessee, and at Atlanta, Georgia. After careful consideration and much voting, the site at Sewanee was chosen as the ideal one. The Sewanee Coal Mining Company had built a branch railroad up the mountain from Cowan on the main line of the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railroad. This company offered five thousand acres, and citizens of Franklin County offered five thousand more of adjacent land, giving the proposed University a magnificent domain on the level top of a mountain nearly a thousand feet above the valleys and nearly two thousand feet above the sea. Here was a primeval land, rich in wood, stone, water and other resources remote from any overwhelming local influences, where the University might build its own society and yet be in fact a university not of one state or place, but of the whole South.

(2) CONSTITUTION AND CODE OF STATUTES. Not content with his own investigations, Bishop Polk with his committee drew further upon the help of the President of the United States and our ambassadors to secure the best sources of educational information. The committee did not imitate any one university, but took from the best features of many for an "eclectic" result. The following list from the original constitution shows how inclusive was to be the scope of education:—

"The following shall be the schools founded by the University, so soon as the means at its command shall be sufficient for that purpose.

1. School of Greek Language and Literature.
2. School of Latin Language and Literature.
3. School of Mathematics.
4. School of Physics.
5. School of Metaphysics.
6. School of History and Archaeology.
7. School of Natural Sciences, with cabinets and garden of plants attached.
8. School of Geology, Mineralogy, and Paleontology.
9. School of Civil Engineering, Construction, Architecture, and Drawing.
10. School of Theoretical and Experimental Chemistry.

11. School of Chemistry applied to Agriculture and the Arts.
12. School of Theory and Practice of Agriculture, with farm attached.
13. School of Moral Science and the Evidences of the Christian Religion.
14. School of English Language and Literature.
15. School of French Language and Literature.
16. School of German Language and Literature.
17. School of Spanish Language and Literature.
18. School of Italian Language and Literature.
19. School of Oriental Language and Literature.
20. School of the Philosophy of Languages.
21. School of the Philosophy of Education.
22. School of Rhetoric, Criticism, Elocution, and Composition.
23. School of American History and Antiquities.
24. School of Ethnology and Universal Geography.
25. School of Astronomy (with observatory) and Physical Geography.
26. School of Political Science, Political Economy, Statistics, Law of Nations, Spirit of Laws, General Principles of the Government and Constitution of the United States.
27. School of Commerce and Trade, including the History and Laws of Banking, Exchange, Insurance, Brokerage, and Bookkeeping.
28. School of Theology.
29. School of Law.
30. School of Medicine.
31. School of Mines and Mining.
32. School of Fine Arts, including Sacred Music."

(3) ENDOWMENT. It is one thing to dream dreams and another thing to pay for them. Bishop Polk and Elliott as Commissioners of Endowment were charged with the task of raising \$500,000 as a preliminary to *any* active operations. They report at the Beersheba meeting in 1859 as follows:

"The collections have been confined almost entirely to Louisiana in consequence of having begun our work at New Orleans. The two or three months we found it possible to give to this duty were fully occupied in the field upon which we entered nor did we by any means exhaust that." Therefore, they secured with little effort cash and pledges guaranteeing the necessary \$500,000 and gave them a basis whereby they estimated that in a brief period of canvass through ten dioceses, they could count on an initial endowment of over \$3,000,000.

So confident were the principal leaders in the enterprise, that

Bishops Polk, Elliott, and Otey, and other trustees built homes on the domain before the corner-stone of the University was laid. Great work sheds were constructed and all was in readiness to begin the erection on the university site of the main building, which was to cost \$300,000.

Widespread was the interest in the University, and there gathered for the occasion of its final inauguration eight bishops, two hundred presbyters, and some five thousand people, not only from the local counties, but from all parts of the South, and indeed, of the country. Bishop Smith of Kentucky was present, foreshadowing the entrance of that diocese into the project. President Barnard of the University of Mississippi, afterwards of Columbia University, Lt. Commander Mathew Fontaine Maury of Gulf Stream fame, as well as Col. John S. Preston and other distinguished people took part in the program. The occasion, as described by the Reverend J. F. Young, D. D., later Bishop of Florida, for the *Church Journal* printed October 24, and by correspondents from the *Church Intelligencer* and secular papers, was of incomparable dignity and moment. The procession consisted of Horn's Silver Band, citizens of Franklin and counties adjacent, invited guests, architects, ministers of the Gospel, presidents of colleges, and professors, the ladies, the trustees, the orator of the day, other speakers, and bishops in order of their seniority.

The great marble corner-stone had been hauled up the mountain by teams of oxen. In it was deposited, by Bishop Elliott, the Scriptures, the Book of Common Prayer, the Constitution of the United States, Constitution and Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the proceedings of the last General Convention, and Journals of the Confederate Dioceses, documents written in relation to this university, church publications, and a pocket almanac listing the bishops and clergymen of England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Continent.

At the height of the ceremony, it was properly given to the Bishop of Louisiana to perform the rite of laying the corner-stone in place. He said, "A corner-stone is that which unites the walls of a building, and may symbolize strength and stability,—the union of the intellectual and spiritual nature of man—the emblem of Christ—the sure and tried corner-stone—the wisdom of God, and the Power of God!"

Then striking the stone three times with a hammer, he said:

"In the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity! Father! Son! and Holy Ghost! Three Persons—one God, blessed forever. Amen.

"I, Leonidas Polk, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Louisiana, on this tenth day of October, and in the year of Grace, 1860, do lay this corner-stone of an edifice to be here erected as the principal build-

ing of the 'University of the South', an Institution established by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Dioceses of Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, for the cultivation of true religion, learning and virtue, that thereby God may be glorified, and the happiness of man be advanced.

"'Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ; the same yesterday, today, and forever: God over all, blessed forever, in whom we have redemption through His Blood, even the forgiveness of sins; for there is none other name under heaven among men whereby we must be saved.'"

The choir then chanted the "Benedicte", with instrumental accompaniment, after which the audience moved in procession to the oration hall.

It falls to another to tell how the War came with its disastrous effects upon that which Polk had so well founded, how his home was burned at Sewanee by incendiaries, how Lee and Davis, the Army and the people, persuaded him to accept the commission of Major General, how his feet took him over the beloved site, leaving it behind to the enemy to destroy, how he died at Marietta, Georgia, in 1864, fulfilling all too literally the prophecy of John S. Preston. But after the War it was in great part the memory of his deathless vision that touched with new life the ashes on the mountain. The inward and spiritual remains of his enterprise still made southern men think so grandly of Sewanee, that, though there was no endowment left and little money to be had, they gladly gave their love and gifts of mind and soul in maintenance of a small and struggling outward and visible sign—"an ensign on a hill". Such bishops as Quintard and Gailor of Tennessee, and others, from Gregg of Texas to Capers and Guerry of South Carolina, and such officers and professors as the veteran Generals Josiah Gorgas and Kirby-Smith, and Shoup, such as John B. Elliott, McCrady, Caskie Harrison, Wiggins, and Trent, and greatest of all, Reverend Dr. W. P. DuBose, chaplain of the University and progenitor and dean of the Theological School, a theologian, a prophet, and saint, and others of their company, men and women, strove as men inspired with the thought that Sewanee was fulfilling or surely would fulfill all the greatness of her foundations.

With regimentation abroad in the world, with our Church reserving to herself only four such colleges of which Sewanee is alone owned and controlled directly by the Church through its elected trustees (in twenty-two dioceses reaching from Missouri to Florida) there is a new impetus for Christian education which only a united effort of a far-seeing Church can give. Hardly would the bishops and trustees of eighty years ago need to rewrite today their concern for democratic institutions if we build not a better foundation of intelligent and religious integrity.

Bishop Polk, as it would be discovered in a study of his episcopate, was deeply aware of the great social and political problems of his time, not least of all, the slavery problem and the union of states. He saw clearly that a great university was needed to vindicate the South "from the obloquy of ignorance and barbarism". People need to rise above the heat of economic pressures, social habits, and the arbitrament of war to find a solution for such questions as slavery and the tension between sections of the country, between differences of party and of class. Most of these concerns are still with us, in but new forms, calling for solution; and where could such freedom of expression, such idealism in faith and virtue, be better found and broadcasted than at a great central station of free-born culture representing the united efforts of the Church? Are these words of Bishop Polk and his colleagues written from Philadelphia, appropriate only to the year 1856 or to our own?

"Nothing is more common than to hear it affirmed that the hopes of mankind are suspended upon the success of the experiment in government now being made in these states. The success or failure of this experiment turns entirely on the degree of intelligence, and the character of the moral sentiment which shall distinguish the masses of our population. These masses are but the aggregation of individuals, and the responsibility and duty originating and sustaining Institutions whose offices go to the point, directly or indirectly, of enlightening them, is therefore obvious and imperative. . . . At no time in all the past, have we been so threatened with the spread of the wildest opinions in religion and government; and at no period, therefore, has there been so great a call to put into operation and multiply agencies, whose high conservatism shall furnish us with the means of making fast the foundations of the State, securing a sound and healthy feeling in the social condition, and preserving in their integrity the great truths of our holy religion.

"But besides these general considerations, which are of force with all men, and which claim our attention as citizens, there is a special obligation upon us, as churchmen, to originate some plan for the special benefit of the children of the Church."

We might well close this brief account of Bishop Polk, and what he did and said as prime founder of the University of the South, with words from the Epistle to the Hebrews: "*He being dead yet speaketh.*"

* * * * *

The present University of the South was re-founded by Bishop Quintard, Major Fairbanks, and others who placed a wooden cross on the domain in 1866. The trustees opened the institution in 1868. It now consists of a preparatory school, college of arts and sciences, and a theological seminary. Bishop Bratton of Mississippi presides as Chancellor over the Board of Trustees and the Executive head or Vice-Chancellor is Dr. B. F. Finley, retiring. The new Vice-Chan-

cellor who takes control on July 1 is Dr. Alexander Guerry, President of the University of Chattanooga, whose father was the late Bishop of South Carolina and for fourteen years chaplain and professor at Sewanee. The endowments of the university amount to \$2,117,950.00, and the plant \$1,348,134.00.

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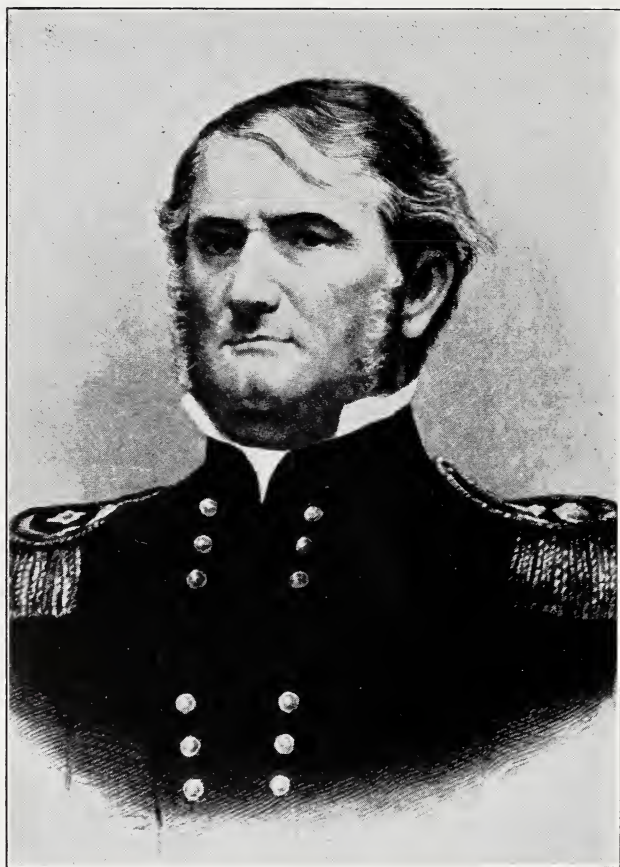
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LEONIDAS POLK
Major-General, C. S. A.

THE CONFEDERATE GENERAL

By James Postell Jervey*

ON June 25, 1861, Leonidas Polk, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Louisiana, was commissioned a major-general in the provisional army of the Confederate States, and on July 4 was assigned to the command of Department Number 2 with headquarters at Memphis, Tennessee.

Bishop Polk accepted this commission with the greatest reluctance. He realized that for a bishop in the Church of God to bear arms was without precedent in the earlier and later ages of the Church and against the better mind of the Church in all ages. But the Confederate government was faced with a serious emergency. It was essential that the Mississippi valley should be immediately defended, Albert Sidney Johnston had not yet returned from the Pacific coast, no other general officer was available for the command, and a deputation of citizens from the Mississippi valley urged Polk's appointment upon Jefferson Davis, the president of the Confederacy, as one in whom all citizens of the valley would have confidence. When Davis offered Polk the command, the latter declined it. The offer was twice renewed. Polk himself wrote: "I feel the step to which I have been invited is one of the very gravest character in all its bearings all the way around, and I am not going to decide it hastily."¹ He took counsel, notably with the venerable Bishop Meade of Virginia, whose first reply was, "Under all the circumstances of the case, taking my (Polk's) education, history, and natural character into the account, he *could not condemn it*. He was not expected to *advise it*."²

Pressed by Davis, Polk finally accepted the commission, first, because as he said, "I believe most solemnly that it is for constitutional liberty, which seems to have fled to us for refuge, for our hearthstones, and our altars that we strike;" and, second, because it was definitely understood that he would be relieved of command and army service as soon as his place could be filled. He twice tendered his resignation, once in 1861 and once in 1862, and it was twice refused.

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¹William M. Polk, "Leonidas Polk—Bishop and General," Vol. I., 357, (1915 edition).

²Ibid, I., 358-359. Italics are Polk's.

In the North his acceptance was almost universally condemned and some severe strictures appeared in the northern Church press. In the South opinion was divided, but after the first shock the Church's leaders generally rallied to his support. On November 15, 1861, Bishop Meade wrote Polk:

"Your acceptance of the office I had defended before against all objections, as an exception to a general rule imperiously demanded by the emergencies of the country."³

Bishop Elliott of Georgia took the same line,⁴ and Bishop Otey of Tennessee wrote Polk upon hearing of his resignation of his command in 1861, urging him to continue in the army.⁵

An understanding of Polk's course is probably to be found in two dominant touchstones of his character—duty and courage. Once persuaded as to his duty, the courage to do it was always forthcoming. His Scotch-Irish ancestry and his immediate family background would be a factor in this. But we have already seen the particular development of these two qualities in Polk, independent of family support. At West Point, the watchword of the Academy—"duty"—found fertile soil for growth in young Polk. When he believed an injustice had been done him by the head of the department of drawing, he had the courage to demand his rights of the Secretary of War. At a time when not a single officer or cadet in West Point would acknowledge any religious belief, Polk, with one other cadet—Magruder, in the presence of the whole corps, confessed his sins, avowed his faith, and was baptized. Because he believed it was his duty to do so, against the wishes of his father and the advice of his friends that the army would afford him a distinguished career, he resigned his commission, abandoned the army, and entered the ministry. Likewise, faced with the call of duty, he sacrificed the pleasant life of a wealthy planter when called to the arduous task of missionary bishop of the Southwest.

When, therefore, on June 22, 1861, he wrote Bishop Elliott, "*I have undertaken this work because it seemed the duty next me, a duty I trust God will allow me to get through with without delay, that I may return to chosen and usual work,*"⁶ it was to be expected that his usual courage in the face of vigorous and even bitter criticism would not be wanting.

After the passage of the years we must conclude that Dr. Hopkins, bishop of Vermont and presiding bishop, had about the right of it when he wrote Mrs. Polk after the Bishop's death:⁷

³*William M. Polk, "Leonidas Polk—Bishop and General, I., 376.*

⁴*Ibid, I., 366.*

⁵*Ibid, I., 377-379.*

⁶*Polk, I., 361. Italics are Polk's.*

⁷*Polk supra, I., 365.*

"I deeply regretted your dear husband's act in accepting a general's commission in the army; but I never doubted that he was governed by the purest conscientious desire to do what he regarded as his duty to God and to his country. The spirit of a Christian martyr was an element in his lofty character, and while I could not have seen the case in the same light, I was well persuaded that he regarded his course as a sacrifice laid on the altar of truth, and went forth believing himself to be called to wield the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. To our beloved brethren in the South he has left a legacy of zeal and devotion never surpassed and rarely equalled in the whole range of human history. And the memory of his labors for the Church, and his sacrifices in the cause of independence, will be cherished in the hearts of thousands through future generations, after the false glory of worldly triumphs shall have passed away."

Because he expected momentarily to be relieved of his army duty, Bishop Polk resigned neither his office nor his jurisdiction. He arranged for Elliott, Otey and Lay to visit his parishes. He never again exercised any episcopal function and on only four occasions, other than the times when he read service, did he officiate in the capacity of a priest of the Church: at the death bed of Major Edward Butler; at the marriage of General John Morgan; at the baptism of General Hood within a month of Polk's death; and at the baptism of General Joseph E. Johnston a few days later.

Polk had little theoretical or practical preparation for the duties of high military command. His actual army experience had been negligible as he had resigned from the army a few months after graduation from West Point. But the four gruelling years at the Academy had given him a disciplined body and mind, with the power and habit of clear and logical reasoning from observed facts to sound conclusions. Long years of work as bishop of the Southwest and of Louisiana had given him an intimate knowledge of the peoples and geography of the Mississippi valley and the regions where his military talents were to be exercised, and he had unquestionably the power to command and to lead.

In two cases where he had independent command—at Belmont in Missouri and in his operations against Sherman in northern Mississippi and Alabama—he achieved brilliant success. But as corps commander under Bragg in the Kentucky and Tennessee campaigns—at Perryville, Stone's River, Tullahoma and Chickamauga—his conduct has been assailed. Both he and the other corps commanders have been charged with a lamentable spirit of insubordination, criticism, and even with direct disobedience and disloyalty. We shall see later whether these

charges against Polk are justified and whether Bragg's incompetency and vacillation excuse Polk's actions and those of his colleagues in those battles. They do, however, furnish a sad commentary on the contention in the high command of the Army of Tennessee. There can be no question that as a corps commander at Shiloh under Albert Sidney Johnston, whom he loved and admired, and under Joseph E. Johnston, whom he regarded almost as highly, Polk rendered loyal, courageous and efficient service.

On July 13, 1861, Polk assumed command of the department of the Mississippi which embraced West Tennessee, a small strip of Alabama, and the parts of Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana, adjacent to the Mississippi river. The states of Missouri and Kentucky were not included in Polk's department and three armies in Missouri and Arkansas—under Price, Hardee and McCullough—were not subject to Polk's command. Divided command, personal animosities and jealousies, states rights, and lack of timely cooperation, in spite of some local successes such as the Confederate victory at Wilson's creek in Missouri on August 10th, rendered fruitless Polk's ambitious plans for the conquest of Missouri. When on September 2, President Davis extended Polk's command to embrace Arkansas and all military operations in Missouri, it was too late.

Polk now concentrated on the defense of the Mississippi river. The work already begun at Fort Pillow was pushed, Island No. 10 was occupied in the middle of August, and Polk was anxious to occupy both Paducah and Columbus in Kentucky. Here he was partially frustrated by the peculiar political situation in Kentucky. This state had taken the impossible position of neutrality. This condition worked to the advantage of the Federals and the disadvantage of the Confederates because the latter were bound under their doctrine of states rights to respect Kentucky's avowed intent, whereas the Federals were not. Faced with the necessity of forestalling Grant's occupancy of both Paducah and Columbus, Polk on September 4th occupied Columbus as his first line of defence. When this action was reported in Richmond, the Secretary of War ordered Polk to withdraw his forces. Polk appealed to Davis and the latter sustained Polk on the ground that "the necessity justifies the action."

On September 15, 1861, General Albert Sidney Johnston assumed command of all Confederate forces in the West—an appointment which Polk had long urged. Johnston confirmed Polk's seizure of Columbus, and assigned him to the command of the first division, specially charged with the defense of the Mississippi river. General Johnston's biographer later wrote:⁸

⁸Col. Wm. P. Johnston, *"Life of General Albert Sidney Johnston,"* p. 322.

"It was no small consideration to feel that he (Johnston) had in so responsible a position a friend to whose loyalty of heart and native chivalry he could trust entirely, and one who, if long unused to arms, was yet by virtue of early training and a bold, aggressive spirit every inch a soldier. Henceforth General Polk was the right arm of his commander."

In November, 1861, General U. S. Grant with a force of 3,500 men attempted to dislodge Polk from Columbus by capturing the latter's camp of observation at Belmont, Missouri, opposite Columbus. Polk sallied forth from his stronghold, crossed the river, decisively defeated Grant on November 7th at what is called the battle of Belmont, and pursued him to his transports. For this victory the Congress at Richmond passed resolutions commending Polk and his army.

Columbus formed a strong left flank for the Confederate line and it was so well fortified under Polk's direction as to be dubbed "the Gibraltar of the West." But the capture of Forts Henry on the Tennessee and Donelson on the Cumberland by Grant in February, 1862, made Columbus untenable and under order of the Secretary of War it was evacuated early in March. The effect of the withdrawal from Columbus upon the morale of the Confederate army, following so soon after the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson, was bad. Johnston had been compelled to abandon Nashville, Tennessee, and had concentrated his army of 40,000 about Corinth, Mississippi.

In the reorganization of the Confederate forces around Corinth following the disasters of February and March of 1862, the army was made up in four corps and styled "The Army of Mississippi." General Johnston was commander-in-chief with General Beauregard as second in command, General Bragg was chief of staff, and the four corps commanders were Polk, Bragg, Hardee and Breckenridge. Bragg not only assumed the double duty of chief of staff and corps commander, but more than a third of the army was in his corps.

In the meantime the Federal forces of about 33,000 men, commanded by Grant, had been assembled near Pittsburg Landing on the west bank of the Tennessee river, some 25 miles north of Corinth. Buell with about 30,000 men was marching to join Grant. Johnston was determined to attack Grant before Buell could arrive.

On April 6, 1862, after almost fatal delay in reaching the desired position, the Confederates attacked the Union army at Shiloh. Polk led the left, Bragg the center, Hardee the right, with Breckinridge in reserve. Grant was caught napping and was badly routed. Tactically the first day's battle was a Confederate victory. Polk handled his corps well considering the very faulty general arrangement for the attack, for which he was not responsible—two corps in the first line and

one in each of the other two. Consequently as reenforcements were thrown in, there was an intermingling of troops from three or four corps and all unity of command was destroyed. Polk captured Prentiss' division of 2,200 men, but his own corps lost in killed and wounded nearly one-third of its number, which gives some idea of the severity of the fighting on his front. General Johnston was killed on that first day and a Northern historian has said, "The South could better have spared an army."⁹ The Confederate attack slackened, night fell, and before morning Buell's army had fully arrived. Beauregard, who succeeded Johnston in command, had no new troops to fill up the thinned and fatigued battalions. The battle of the second day, the 7th, was a drawn fight. The Confederates retreated to Corinth and then to Tupelo, Mississippi. General Beauregard in his "Military Operations"¹⁰ thus speaks of Polk's conduct on the second day:

"Just about the time (10:30 a. m.) when General McCook (of the Federals) was assuming the offensive with his whole division, and was near pushing through the gap between General Breckinridge's left and General Bragg's right, caused by the absence of General Polk with one of his divisions, the latter arrived on the field. . . . Dashing forward with drawn sword, at the head of Chatham's fine division, he soon formed his line of battle at the point where his presence was so much needed, and, with unsurpassed vigor, moved on against a force at least double his own, making one of the most brilliant charges of infantry made on either day of the battle. He drove back the opposing column in confusion. . . ."

On June 21, 1862, Beauregard, because of long-continued ill health, was relieved of the command of the Army of Mississippi and was succeeded by Bragg. Leaving part of Van Dorn's force to look after West Tennessee, Bragg moved the rest of his army to Chattanooga early in August. He reorganized it into two corps or wings under Polk and Hardee respectively. Then in cooperation with Kirby Smith in East Tennessee, he moved around the left flank of the Union army now commanded by Buell, and actually interposed a large part of his force between the Federal army and its base at Louisville, Kentucky. Vacillating action and the political activities of Bragg looking to the installation of a civil government in Kentucky favorable to the Confederacy, permitted Buell to extricate his army from its embarrassing situation and withdraw in safety to Louisville.

After remaining in Louisville but one week, just long enough to recruit thousands of new men and to rest his veterans, Buell advanced the last days of September with about 58,000 men. Bragg was at

⁹J. K. Hosmer, *"The Appeal to Arms,"* p. 104.

¹⁰*Vol. I., 313.*

Frankfort, 50 miles from Polk, installing a Confederate civil government. Convinced that Buell in full force was intending to attack Frankfort, in which he was mistaken, Bragg ordered Polk to advance towards Louisville and occupy the villages of Taylorsville, Shepardsville, and Mt. Washington, and prepare to attack Buell's flank. When Polk started to obey these instructions he was informed by Wharton, commander of the cavalry, that Buell was advancing upon him (Polk) in heavy force. This meant, as it turned out, that Bragg had 36,000 men around Frankfort to oppose 12,000 Federals, leaving Polk with 16,000 men around Bardstown to oppose 58,000 Federals. To attack Buell under such circumstances would, in Polk's judgment, be disastrous. He consulted with his wing and division commanders and they unanimously endorsed his views. On October 3rd, he notified Bragg to this effect. Polk thereupon retreated to Perryville and Harrodsburg, there making contact with Kirby Smith who was retreating from Frankfort. In front of Perryville, Polk prepared to give battle and made his dispositions accordingly. Polk had about 16,000 men. Directly opposed to him was the Federal left flank—McCook's corps with 12,500; the Federal center under Gilbert with 23,000 and the Federal right under Crittenden with 22,500, far overlapped the Confederate left. Just before the battle opened, Bragg arrived on the field. Bragg not only approved in the main of Polk's dispositions, but declined to assume command and left Polk free to conduct the operations under his own plan.

McCook was attacked with energy, while the Union right and center, hardly three miles away, were not aware of it. Through some atmospheric condition the cannon were not heard.¹¹ McCook was driven a mile with serious loss in men and guns, by which time the Federal center became aware of what was going on and advanced to his support. The advantage of that day lay with the Confederates.

Bragg was well pleased with that day's work but did not know what to do next. With the assembly of all of his forces about Harrodsburg, including Kirby Smith's army, by October 10th, he was nearly equal in numbers and superior in materials to Buell. Smith, Hardee and Polk were appalled at his vacillation. Finally, Buell settled the problem for Bragg by pressing the latter's left flank, endeavoring to carry out the former's original plan of cutting Bragg off from Cumberland Gap and East Tennessee. On October 13th the Confederate evacuation of Kentucky began in the direction of East Tennessee.

We have discussed this action in some detail because later Bragg accused Polk of insubordination and outright disobedience to his orders. Polk's biographer answers these charges, heavily supported with docu-

¹¹*Hosmer, supra*, p. 225.

mentary evidence, as follows: (1) Bragg made no such charges until May 20, 1863,—eight months after the events with which they were associated; (2) When he returned to the field of action from his ill-starred political sojourn at Frankfort, Bragg had no fault to find with Polk, and not only did not relieve the latter from command, but allowed him to carry out his plan of battle and direct the operations; (3) That night at Perryville he made it quite evident to Polk and Hardee that he was much pleased with all that they had done for him that day; (4) In his report of the battle written two days after the action, he said: "To Major-General Polk commanding the forces, to Major-General Hardee commanding the left wing, and Major-General Cheatham, Buckner, and Anderson, commanding divisions, is mainly due the brilliant achievement on this memorable field. Nobler troops were never more gallantly led." (5) Bragg entrusted to Polk the retreat into Tennessee. (6) Polk himself denied that he had failed to carry out any of Bragg's orders except those which allowed him some discretion, and such he (Polk) considered those in dispute to allow.

Why Bragg's changed attitude? Because the Kentucky campaign raised an uproar of dissatisfaction in both the North and the South. With far less justice than Davis' removal of Bragg would have been, Lincoln relieved Buell as commander in the West. Buell had at least driven the Confederates out of Kentucky and had not lost the confidence of his subordinates. But Davis, with a loyalty which does more credit to his heart than his head, would not listen to Bragg's removal, although it was already certain that he had lost the confidence of almost all of his corps and division commanders. Davis' duty became increasingly clear: either he should have relieved Bragg of command or he should have discharged Bragg's corps commanders and given him subordinates who had confidence in him. Davis did neither the one nor the other and disaster was long foreshadowed to the Confederate operations in the West.

The Union army, now commanded by Rosecrans, followed the Confederate movement and in December, 1862, was concentrated at Nashville. On January 1, 2, and 3, 1863, Rosecrans moved out of that city and engaged Bragg's army at Stone's River (Murfreesborough), Tennessee. In the meantime Polk had been promoted from major-general to lieutenant-general. In command of the center, the operations of Polk's corps on the first day were skillfully conducted and met with marked success. The attack of the second day, made over Polk's protest, was disastrously checked by heavy artillery fire, and Bragg was compelled to withdraw his army to Tullahoma, Tennessee.

In June and July, 1863, Rosecrans, by a series of masterly turning movements, without fighting a single major battle, successfully

maneuvered the Confederate army entirely out of middle Tennessee and compelled it to retreat beyond the Tennessee river.

Early in July, Polk, Cheatham, Hardee, Quintard and Hodgson—all names intimately connected either with the birth or growth of the University of the South—were encamped at or near University place, “the site of the great university that was to be,” as described by a Union commissary officer who praised its cool springs and refreshing shade, but lamented his lack of a supply of whiskey properly to round out life. Its crude buildings, even its cornerstone, had been destroyed, and its endowment fund dissipated. One may wonder what Polk’s mental reactions were on this his last visit to the spot which he had so much loved and to which he had devoted so much labor and so much of his splendid ability and talents.

In September, 1863, the Confederate army was concentrated along Chickamauga Creek. Rosecrans thought that Bragg was in retreat and in his anxiety to catch him and cut him off, the former’s corps, three in number, were so badly separated that Bragg might have destroyed them one by one.¹² But he let his opportunity slip and elected to wait. Finally on September 19 and 20, the battle was joined. The Union army of 58,000 men was commanded by Thomas on the left, McCook on the right, with Crittenden in reserve.

On the first day Bragg was outnumbered, but not on the second. In the first day’s battle Polk commanded the right and Hood temporarily, pending the arrival of Longstreet, led the left. September 19th was a day of fierce encounters and Polk on the right had the responsibility of the attack on the Union left under Thomas. Although by night Polk had been unable to break through Thomas’ wing, he felt confident of victory on the morrow. That night Longstreet from Virginia arrived with reinforcements bringing Bragg’s army to 66,000 men, and to Longstreet was assigned the command of the Confederate left for the next day.

On the night of the 19th about 10 o’clock at Bragg’s headquarters, the commander ordered Polk to attack again at daybreak. He also told him that Hill would be under Polk’s orders and not independent of Polk as he had been the first day of battle. Since Hill had but recently been promoted from major-general to lieutenant-general, and since General Bragg did not himself notify Hill of what was virtually a demotion, but left it for Polk to notify him of his changed status, Hill was needlessly affronted. At 11:30 p. m. Polk issued the necessary orders to Hill, Cheatham and Walker, the corps commanders. His couriers delivered the orders promptly to Cheatham and Walker but could not find Hill. At 5 a. m. Polk learned of the failure to reach

¹²J. K. Hosmer, *“Outcome of the Civil War,”* p. 31.

Hill for the first time and at 5:30 a. m. sent the order to attack at once to Hill's division commanders—Cleburne and Breckinridge. When these latter orders were delivered Hill was found with them, but he and his division commanders stated that their men must first receive their rations. As a consequence the attack of the second day, the 20th, did not begin until 9:30 a. m.

In the Federal camp on the night of the 19th, Rosecrans called a council of war. Thomas who had borne the brunt of Polk's assaults was physically exhausted and fell asleep every minute. When roused to give his opinion he invariably answered, "I would strengthen the left," which was his wing. Rosecrans followed this advice too literally and depleted his right so much that disaster came that way.

Polk opened his second's day attack with an unshrinking onslaught upon Thomas. All forenoon the battle raged and the Federal line still held. Then Rosecrans, through misinformation, made a gap in his right. Perfectly timed and perfectly executed, Longstreet on the Confederate left attacked in the early afternoon the Federal right. It was completely routed and the Confederates swept to the right, partially surrounding Thomas; but the latter made a horseshoe formation which the topography favored, and with about two-thirds of the Union army, beat off the Confederates, holding the position until nightfall when he withdrew, thus earning for himself the sobriquet, "The Rock of Chickamauga."

Polk and Longstreet urged Bragg to order a pursuit that very night, for the moon was bright, before the Union forces had time to reorganize and throw up defenses at Chattanooga. But Bragg could not "believe that he had won a victory," not having been present on the field of battle. He seemed again to be possessed by paralysis, but in a few days he summoned enough energy to charge Polk and Hill with neglect of duty, suspended both from command, and preferred charges for Polk's courtmartial. The reader can judge for himself, from the statement of facts given above explaining why the attack did not begin at daybreak, as to the justice of these charges. But the following are also to be noted:

(1) Whether Polk was responsible or not for the delay in attacking on the 20th, it did not occasion any failure in the Confederate success for the enemy was clearly beaten and driven from the field. But the order to pursue by which alone the victory could be clinched, could only come from General Bragg, and he would not give it.

(2) The government dismissed the charges against Polk and gave him a responsible, independent command in Mississippi.

(3) A responsible Northern historian, whose impartiality in this particular matter can scarcely be questioned, states:¹³

¹³Hosmer, J. K., "*Outcome of the Civil War*," p. 34. *Italics ours.*

"He (Bragg) subsequently brought accusations of neglect against that lieutenant (Polk); *but it is far easier to believe the statement of Polk, that the conditions made an early movement impossible.*"

(4) The battle of Chickamauga, with Polk commanding the right wing, was a great victory for the Confederates and would have been greater if followed up by vigorous pursuit. Yet this same army, a month later (November 23-25), with Bragg still commanding but with Polk out of it, was disastrously defeated. Why this sudden change in fortune? Let us hear what Hosmer, our Northern historian, says:¹⁴

"The powerful blow delivered by the Confederacy at Chickamauga, though to some extent an offset to the Federal successes of the summer, did not really balance them, and had a sequence full of disappointment to the South. Longstreet believed that on the field the tactics of the afternoon of September 20th were gravely at fault, and that the advantage gained was not properly pushed home. Chattanooga was only partially invested, whereas, in the opinion of this strong commander of the left wing, the Federal communications might and should have been entirely cut. Fortunately for the Federals, the camp of their adversaries was a scene of contention, Bragg having no friends among his higher officers, and on his part criticising and denouncing them in unmeasured terms. Polk was removed from his command; D. H. Hill, too, was now forced out of service, not to draw his sword again until the last days of the war. Though Hardee was recalled from the South and given Polk's place, his relations with Bragg were scarcely more friendly; while every line of Longstreet's memoirs implies disgust at what he regards as the mismanagement of his chief."

In December President Davis, finally convinced by the disasters of Chattanooga, relieved Bragg as commander of the Army of Tennessee and assigned Joseph E. Johnston to it. Polk was placed in charge of the department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana. He applied himself with great vigor which was felt not only in the army but among the citizens. He completely frustrated Sherman's advance from Vicksburg in February 1864, which had as its objective the seizure of Selma and Mobile, Alabama, by making a juncture with Sooy Smith moving south from Memphis. Polk prevented this juncture and compelled both Smith and Sherman to retreat and the latter gave up his objective.

In May 1864, Johnston, faced at Dalton with a vastly superior force under Sherman, called for aid from Polk. The latter responded with nearly his entire army, Bragg in Richmond making a last abortive

¹⁴Hosmer, J. K., "*Outcome of the Civil War*," pp. 45, 46.

attempt to block the transfer. When Polk reported to Johnston the latter grasped his hand and, warmly shaking it, said, "How can I thank you? I asked for a division, but you have come yourself and brought me your army."¹⁵

Polk gave unqualified loyalty and efficient support to Johnston whom he greatly respected and admired and in whom he had implicit confidence. Johnston's retreat was a series of masterly rear guard engagements and withdrawals which are quoted by military writers as models of their type.

The ragged, starving, poorly equipped soldier of the Confederacy has become almost traditional. It is interesting to note, however, that in the retreat to Atlanta, so far as Polk's corps is concerned, his reports and letters give strong evidence to the contrary. He refers several times to the cheerful and splendid spirit of his men as well as to the fact that they were well clothed and equipped, and that food supplies were abundant and good. Perhaps we have here one of the secrets of confidence which the private soldier had in him as a leader. He had realized the great military truth that an army travels on its stomach. The attitude of the soldiers towards General Polk is indicated by Lieutenant-Colonel Fremantle of the English army who met General Polk in May of 1863 and reports his impressions in his "Three Months in the Southern States:"¹⁶

"Lieutenant-General Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana, who commands the other *corps d'armée*, is a good-looking, gentleman-like man, with all the manners and affability of a 'grand seigneur.' He is fifty-seven years of age, tall, upright, and looks much more like the soldier than the clergyman.

"He is much beloved by the soldiers on account of his great personal courage and agreeable manners. I had already heard no end of anecdotes of him, told me by my traveling companions, who always alluded to him with affection and admiration. In his clerical capacity I had always heard him spoken of with the greatest respect."

Consequently when Polk joined Johnston's army he was greeted with much enthusiasm by officers and men of the different divisions, with most of which he had previously served. As General Johnston later wrote: "As General Polk had served in that army from its formation, he was greatly loved and admired in it."¹⁷ And another companion in arms stated:¹⁸

"Leonidas Polks' character, viewed in its double light of bishop and general, priest and soldier, in its severe sim-

¹⁵*Polk, supra*, II., 351.

¹⁶*Quoted in Polk, supra*, II., 213.

¹⁷*Ibid*, II., 361.

¹⁸*Ibid*, II., 361.

plicity of truthfulness, inspired the warmest love and most ardent admiration. His brother officers confided in him and relied upon him; the soldiers trusted and loved him."

But his career of Bishop and General was drawing to its close. On Sunday June 12, General Polk seemed more abstracted than usual. He spent the day reading his Bible and the small book prepared by Dr. Quintard¹⁹ for the use of the soldiers as a substitute for the Book of Common Prayer. About 10 o'clock he read the Church service to officers and men who listened with rapt attention, standing bareheaded in the pouring rain. This was the last occasion on which Bishop Polk conducted divine service.

The next day, the 13th, broke foggy and rainy. That morning he received a note from Johnston asking his opinion on the subject of occupying the intrenchments to the best advantage. His reply was made in a clear and military style the afternoon of the same day. That evening he went to army headquarters and had a consultation with Johnston who expressed the desire to make an inspection of an advanced position on Pine Mountain the following morning, and requested General Polk to accompany him. Polk's last letter was written to his daughter on this day in response to the news of her marriage, expressing the hope that the war would soon end, and stating that the "army is in good spirits, and confident, under the blessing of God, of success in the coming conflict. It is also in high condition. Our trust is in God."²⁰

June 14th dawned clear. General Polk took an early breakfast and had his horse ready to be mounted as soon as General Johnston should arrive. The latter came soon after 8 o'clock and with Polk and Hardee and the various officers of their staffs rode out to Pine Mountain, a sharp hill behind the crest of which the party dismounted. They then moved on foot to the top from which they had a full view of the surrounding country. Both lines of battle were plainly visible, and men, busy on both sides with axe and shovel, were strengthening their positions with trenches and guns. The scene was one of unusual grandeur, and in the enthusiasm of the moment some of the officers stood on the parapet and exposed themselves unnecessarily to the view of the enemy. The men of the battery warned them of the danger. While they were speaking, there was a flash, a puff of smoke, a sharp report, and in an instant fragments of splintered rock and flying earth scattered around them as a shot was buried in the parapet. The officers separated, each seeking some place of greater safety. General Johnston and General Polk moved together to the left, and stood for a

¹⁹Charles Todd Quintard (Dec. 22, 1824-Feb. 15, 1898), *Bishop of Tennessee* (1865-1898).

²⁰Polk, *supra*, II., 367-368.

few moments in earnest conversation behind a parapet. Several shots now passed together just above the parapet, and touched the crest of the hill. Johnston and Polk having apparently completed their observations began to retrace their steps. Johnston fell a few paces behind, and diverged to the right. General Polk walked again to the crest of the hill as if to take a farewell view. Folding his arms he stood intently gazing on the scene below. While he thus stood a cannon shot crashed through his breast, and opening a wide door, let free that indomitable spirit.²¹

Hardee, bending over the lifeless form, said to Johnston, "General, this has been a dear visit." Then kneeling by the body he cried, "My dear, dear friend, little did I think this morning that I should be called upon to witness this." Johnston, with tears in his eyes, knelt and laid his hand on the brow of the dead soldier, saying, "We have lost much! I would rather anything but this!" During the afternoon Hood wrote Johnston, "I am too sad to come over this evening. It is hard that one so noble, generous and brave as our friend should be taken from us." That afternoon the following general order to the army marked the end of the short but eventful and colorful military career of Leonidas Polk:

Headquarters, Army of Tennesse,
In the Field, June 14, 1864.

General Field Orders No. 2.

Comrades: You are called to mourn your first captain, your oldest companion in arms. Lieutenant-General Polk fell today at the outpost of this army,—the army he raised and commanded, in all of whose trials he shared, to all of whose victories he contributed.

In this distinguished leader we have lost the most courteous of gentlemen, the most gallant of soldiers.

The Christian, patriot, soldier, has neither lived nor died in vain. His example is before you; his mantle rests with you.

J. E. Johnston, *General*.

Kinlock Falconer, A. A.-G.

A war correspondent, writing from the front, thus expressed the feeling of the army:

²¹*The Rev. Dr. Slack, a contributor to this issue, formerly rector of Mount Olivet Church in New Orleans, has recently written Dr. Chorley, the editor of this MAGAZINE, that in 1902 he was visited by a man named Flemming who stated that he was present that 14th of June, 1864, with the gunner crew that fired the shot which killed General-Bishop Polk. Dr. Slack quotes Flemming as follows:*

"That morning we saw some men ride out to reconnoitre, and one of the men said, 'Those are big bugs. Let's take a shot at them.' One of them, it was the Bishop, had on a white shirt with ruffles on it. He was a handsome man, and seemed to go out in advance of the others. The first cannon ball went beyond the mark, but the second hit its mark and we saw the big man throw up his hands, and we said, 'We got him.' Later in the day we heard that it was General Polk who had been killed."

"The history of this dismal period will present no name of more romantic interest. He was a great churchman—he was a great warrior. He laid aside his mitre of bishop to take up the sword of patriot. For three years, in every variety of command and under every circumstance, he has sustained the most unsullied reputation. As chief of a corps, he had no superior; as a separate departmental officer, he certainly possessed amplitude of comprehension, resource and industry, to say nothing of the higher points. As a man, he was unrivaled for the graces of culture, native dignity, and high bearing. He was affable, self-possessed, and approachable. No man looked the hero more effectually. There was manliness in his eye and lip and gait; there was true nobility in his whole aspect. His soldiers—and, at one time or another, he commanded all the troops of his army—were devoted to him. He was so dashing in battle, he was so wise and just in council, they could not but love him."

A private soldier wrote:

"His soldiers ever loved and honored him; they called him 'Bishop Polk.' 'Bishop Polk' was ever a favorite with the army; and when any position was to be held, and it was known that 'Bishop Polk' was there, we knew and felt that 'all was well.'"

Jefferson Davis in his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," pays this tribute to General Polk:

"Our army, our country, and mankind at large sustained an irreparable loss in the death of that noble Christian and soldier, Lieutenant-General Polk. . . . Since the calamitous fall of General Albert Sidney Johnston at Shiloh, and of General Thomas J. Jackson at Chancellorsville, the country sustained no heavier blow than in the death of General Polk."²²

On the afternoon of the 14th the body was taken to Atlanta by rail. There it lay in state in St. Luke's Church where many called to pay their respects to the soldier-priest. At noon on the following day an appropriate service was held and an address delivered by Dr. Quintard, the following extract appearing in the *Atlanta Register*:

It was my privilege to enjoy his friendship—it was my privilege to share his few hours of unrestrained social intercourse. And if there was one thing above another which always shone forth, it was his unshaken confidence in God's providence—unshaken trust in God's love—his unselfish confidence in God's faithfulness.

He was eminently a man of prayer. Not praying where he could be seen of men, but retiring to commune with God in secret. He never ceased his devotions. He was instant in prayer; and I remember how, after the bloody field of Perry-

²²*This and the above quoted in Polk, supra, II., 375, 389, 390.*

ville, when the noise and heat of battle had passed, we were in the town of Harrodsburg. There was a beautiful church there, rich in architectural proportions and carved work, he asked me to visit with him. As we walked up the aisle alone, he exclaimed with emotion: "O, for the days when we went up to the house of the Lord, and compassed his altar with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving."

Reaching the chancel, he said to me, "Can we not have prayers?" and we knelt down, poured out our hearts to God, and he left the sanctuary with a face all bathed in tears. Such a soldier did not fight for fame. I remember at Chickamauga, when we were seated upon the ground a few days after the battle, he said to me, "God answered my prayers in giving us this great victory; I prayed long and earnestly that he might bless our arms."

Yes, he was emphatically a man of prayer. The last few weeks of his life were more than others consecrated to prayer. As we look back upon them, now that he is gone, we see how God was preparing him for the higher communion of the Church triumphant.

At midnight, with a faithful few, he baptized one of his companions in arms, the gallant Hood; and received a few days later his commanding General into the Church of Christ.—His last Sunday on earth he gathered all his staff and attendants about him, and with prayer and litany, supplication and praise, seemed to leave them his benediction. He was greatly beloved by his troops. The tears of his commanding General were mingled with those of his privates when he fell. And, O beloved, we are all smitten—the army, the country and the Church. We lift up our voice here between the porch and the altar, and cry to God for mercy. Mercy to our bleeding land, mercy to the hearts crushed by this monster calamity. O God! lift up thy rod lest we be utterly consumed. Judge, O God! between us and our enemies.

The body was then taken by rail with full military honors and escort to St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Georgia. There, on the morning of June 29, 1864, the bishops of Georgia, Mississippi, and Arkansas, in the presence of clergy and laity, representatives of the city, the army, and the Confederate government, all places of business being closed, read the burial service. Dr. Elliott, the bishop of Georgia and presiding bishop of the Church in the Confederate States, and Bishop Polk's dearest friend, delivered the burial address.²³ The body was then interred beneath the chancel window in the rear of the church.

As he had lived so he died. That gonfalon, that guiding beacon upon which he always kept his eyes steadfastly fixed, and which doubtless he saw in his parting glance over the mighty panorama visible from the top of Pine Mountain, was his personal interpretation of the motto of his stern Alma Mater, "The duty next me."

²³Printed in full elsewhere in this issue.

FUNERAL SERVICES

AT THE BURIAL OF THE

RIGHT REV. LEONIDAS POLK, D.D.

TOGETHER WITH THE SERMON

DELIVERED

IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, AUGUSTA, GA.,

ON JUNE 29, 1864:

BEING THE FEAST OF ST. PETER THE APOSTLE.

They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.—Psalm cxxvi, 6.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
PRINTED BY EVANS & COGSWELL.
1864.

FUNERAL SERMON

PREACHED BY

THE RT. REVD. STEPHEN ELLIOTT, JUNIOR,
*Bishop of Georgia and Presiding Bishop of the Confederate
Protestant Episcopal Church.*

ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL, chapter xi, verse 28.—*The Master is come and calleth for thee.*

God hath made everything beautiful in his time, and nothing is more beautiful than Death, when it comes to one who has faithfully fulfilled all the duties of life, and is ready for its summons. To such an one the solemn message, "The Master is come and calleth for thee," has no terrors. It is but the long-expected announcement of rest—but the long-desired ending of the toil of life. The battle has been fought, the victory won, and the war-worn veteran is heralded by his vanquished enemy to his crown of righteousness.

And it makes no matter to the faithful servant under what shape that summons comes. In the history of the Church of Christ the death of its most illustrious saints has taken the revolting form of violence. Some have gone to glory imitating Christ in the shame and agony of the Cross. Others have ascended to the gates of Paradise in chariots of fire. The spirit of the Martyr Stephen passed away amid the curses of an infuriated mob; and the gentle James was smitten with the sword of ruthless tyranny. Why, then, stand appalled that, in these latter days, our brother should have died by the hand of violence? Has human nature changed? Has fanaticism learned any mercy? Does the fire which is lighted from hell ever cease its fury against the children of the Most High? We have been plainly told in Holy Writ that, in the latter days, perilous times should come, and come they have to us. Instead of being appalled, Bishops of the Church of Christ, let us rather prepare for what may be our own future fate! Do ye not hear the voices of your own brethren, Ministers and Bishops, hounding on these hordes of lawless men to the desolation of our homes, our altars, our families, ourselves? The body which lies before us is the last, but not the only one, of our martyred Bishops. The heart of the gentle, loving Cobbs was broken by the vision of coming evil which he foresaw. The lion-hearted Meade died just when the hand of destruction was laid upon his quiet home, and its sacred associations were scattered to the winds. Otey,

the high-souled, the honest-hearted, the guileless, expired a prisoner in his own home, his closing eyes looking upon a desolated diocese, a scattered and ruined people, an exiled ministry—all the work of his life in ruins. The mangled corpse of our beloved brother closes, for the present, the succession of our Episcopal martyrs. Who shall come next? I, in the proper order of succession. God's will be done. My only prayer is, that, if He sees necessary, I may die in defence of the same holy cause, and with the like faith and courage.

Our brother fills the grave of a Christian warrior! Although a minister of the Prince of peace and a Bishop in the Church of God, he has poured out his life-blood for us upon the field of battle. Some, even of those for whom this precious blood is shed, have cavilled at it. Many, even of those who are stirring up this hellish warfare, have found a mote in their brother's eye. As he has given his life for us, our duty is not only to honor his ashes, but to place his noble life, and still nobler death, beyond the reach of human calumny. His judgment is with his God, whom he loved so earnestly, whom he served so faithfully. His Master has come and called for him, and with him we leave his cause gladly, joyfully, in unswerving confidence.

That we may form a just estimate of a man's life, we must keep with us the great principle which is its pervading influence; and we must consider it in connection with the natural temperament of the individual whose life we are examining. The sun does not change by his beams the outlines of the landscape upon which he shines. They remain ever the same, stern or soft, rugged or gentle, as they came from the hand of their Creator. The sun only bathes this natural arrangement in its flood of light, and clothes it with its robes of purple and of gold. And so with divine grace. It does not alter the great characteristics of a man's natural temperament. It only softens it, and illumines it, and makes it glorious to all who look upon it, and fills it with the fulness of God's divine spirit. St. Peter was by nature bold, impetuous, full of ardor and devotion, and in him the spirit of Christ found materials for a grandeur of design and a high-souled energy which made him foremost in all the acts which illustrated the earth-life of our Saviour and the annals of the Apostolic Church. Is any one inclined to disparage Peter because he was not the same gentle, loving spirit as John, or to quarrel with him because his fervent temper and burning zeal made him sometimes liable to rebuke? God raises up instruments in his Church for his own purposes, and moulds them according to his own predetermined counsels.

A man can not be ardent, uncompromising, single-minded, full of a grand ideal of religion, without being a mark for the criticism of the Church as well as of the world. Such men have been filled with a divine afflatus of which lookers-on know nothing. They seem, in the fulness

of their zeal and ardor, to be carried away by a spirit which is mistaken for the spirit of the world. It is not indeed the spirit of the world; it is only that they are fighting the world with the world's own fearlessness. "The children of this world," said our Saviour, "are wiser in their generation than the children of light." Such men as these—men specially raised up—do not permit the children of this world to assume this superiority. They meet them face to face—use different weapons, 'tis true, but use them alike—hurl at their adversaries the armor of the Lord, in the like spirit of zeal in which the armor of the world is hurled against them; and God means them to do it. There are times and occasions when such a spirit is not only right, but glorious, in the sight of the Lord. Look at our Saviour himself, when he lashed from the temple those who were dishonoring his Father's house! See him raging, like a man of war, among the money-changers and the hucksters, overturning their tables, and casting out their merchandise! Hear that same Saviour when he burst forth in indignation against the Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, using such language as a weak Christianity would now find fault with. "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of Hell?" Hear St. Stephen, when he stood in the midst of the infuriated multitude and said: "Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost; as your fathers did, so do ye. Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? And they have slain them which showed before the coming of the Just one; of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers." Hear St. Paul, when he was withstood by Elymas the sorcerer: "O full of all subtilty and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?" Recalling instances like these, tell me if you can not perceive, mingled with the grace and love of the Gospel, a spirit of fiery indignation, rising and swelling in the bosoms of the Apostles, and Martyrs, and Saints, and even of our Lord himself, which should make us careful how we judge and condemn our brethren who may differ from us in spirit and in action. God raises up his own servants for his own use; elects them, calls them, prepares them, places them where they shall be ready for action, and in due time gives them their work to do. It rises up so plainly before them, that they cannot avoid it. It sweeps up to their feet; it involves them in its current. They oftentimes struggle against it, but it overpowers them by its irresistible circumstances, until at last they find themselves mere instruments in God's hands, doing His will, driven on by His spirit, supported by His strength, dying as His martyrs! Let us apply these principles to the life and conduct of him whose murdered body now lies before us.

In the year eighteen hundred and twenty-six we find, in the military school of the United States, a young man of heroic lineage, with the

fiery blood of the Revolution coursing in his veins, of independent fortune, of chivalric tone, of high and noble impulses, preparing himself for the service of his country. He had every qualification to ensure him success as a military man; every prerequisite for carrying him up to lofty reputation. No one doubts, for a moment, that had he followed the beck of ambition, he might have risen, as a soldier, to the very proudest rank in the army of the Union. His most fastidious critic has never doubted that he had military traits in his character of the very highest order. If personal courage, comprehensive views, quick perception, rapid combination, prompt decision, great administrative capacity, with the faculty of commanding men, and at the same time of attaching them to him, are the qualities which make a great military leader, then we, who knew him best and have longest acted with him, can bear our testimony to his possession of these qualities in a most eminent degree. They were his characteristics in everything he did—the qualities which have made him illustrious in every phase of his life. Upon this young man, thus preparing for the service of the world, Christ laid the touch of His divine spirit, and transformed him into a soldier of the Cross. He had work for him to do in his Church. He had use for those very qualities which would have fitted him for a glorious service of the world. The Church needed a bold and fearless man, full of youth and nerve, to plunge into the great wilderness of the Southwest, teeming, as it then was, with the young and vigorous life of the republic, swelling and surging under the rushing tide of emigration, and consecrate it to her service; and she found that champion in this youth of military training. The Church needed a man of high social position, with the carriage and manners of a gentleman, with the courtesy and grace of a well-bred Christian, to commend her to the consideration of men of hereditary wealth, of great refinement, of cultivated accomplishments. For in the vast country over which he was appointed to establish the Church, extremes were meeting—extremes of established position, and of struggle for position—of old settled landholders and of needy adventurers—of men with all the polish of foreign refinement, and of men with all the strength of unpolished intelligence. The Bishop who should go forth to conquer that country for the Church must possess manners as well as energy—cultivation as well as Christian courage—and the Church found such a combination in this young soldier, who had been snatched from the flatteries of the world. The Church needed a large slaveholder, who might speak boldly and fearlessly to his peers, as being one of themselves, about their duty to their slaves, and might teach them, by his living example, what that duty was, and how to fulfil it; and she found it in this young disciple. He combined in himself just the natural qualities and the accidental circumstances which fitted him for the work to which he was called; and when these had been sanctified

by the Spirit of Christ, and constraint was laid upon him to preach the Gospel, he went forth in the power of the Holy Ghost to the earnest fulfilment of his bishopric. And who shall dare to say that the foreknowledge and election of the Head of the Church ended at this point? Who shall presume to say that Christ did not prepare this glorious servant for the final work of his life? It all depends upon the stand-point from which we view this conflict. If we consider it a mere struggle for political power, a question of sovereignty and of dominion, then should I be loath to mingle the Church of Christ with it in any form or manner. But such is not the nature of this conflict. It is no such war as nations wage against each other for a balance of power, or for the adjustment of a boundary. We are resisting a crusade—a crusade of license against law—of infidelity against the altars of the living God—of fanaticism against a great spiritual trust committed to our care. We are warring with hordes of unprincipled foreigners, ignorant and brutal men, who, having cast off at home all the restraints of order and of belief, have signalized their march over our devoted country by burning the Churches of Christ, by defiling the altars upon which the sacrifice of the death of our Saviour is commemorated, by violating our women, by raising the banner of servile insurrection by fanning into fury the demoniac passions of the ignorant and the vile! For active personal resistance to such an invasion might Christ well have fitted and prepared a servant, even though that servant should meanwhile have worn the mitre of a bishop. It is a wonderful coincidence (to say the least of it) that he who, in his young manhood, consecrated his sword as an offering to the Lord, should, in the ripeness of his old age, have resumed that sword to do the battles of Religion and the Church! Who knows the communings of a spirit like his with his Master? Up to that moment he had commended himself to the Church as a self-sacrificing, self-devoted servant and bishop. He had laid down everything at the foot of the Cross. He had stripped himself and his family of riches and of home. He had wandered with them, delicately trained and delicately nurtured, from resting-place to resting-place, until they felt that they were pilgrims and strangers, and had no sure abiding place. He had laid aside, for the Church's sake, the comforts of domestic life—being separated for months from wife and children—until at times he was, as Job says, strange to them. He had his mind, his heart, his soul teeming at all times with great ideas for her advancement and glory, so that his noble, generous soul was well-nigh bursting with its exuberant riches; and can you believe that all this was suddenly changed into a vain and paltry ambition of winning renown upon the battle-field? Why, his views were as much above all such littleness as the heavens are above the earth!

I speak what I do know when I affirm that the complexion which this war was to assume was known to him long before it burst upon our country. We had studied together for years the gathering elements; we had analyzed them; we had seen in them the ripening germs of irreligion, of unbelief, of ungodliness, of corruption, of cruelty, of license, which have since distinguished them, and we came long since to the deliberate conclusion that it was a struggle against which not only the State but the Church must do her utmost. Not merely the layman, but the priest. And this conclusion was not confined to our own breasts. Others of our brethren coincided with us in our views, and even the gentle, loving Cobbs told us, again and again, that when the moment came, old and infirm as he was, he should shoulder his musket and march to the battle-field! And when at last this great responsibility was laid upon him unexpectedly, it met him in the strict performance of his duty.

During the first year of the war, when our armies were in the peninsula of Virginia, he left his diocese upon an episcopal visitation to the soldiers from Louisiana, who then thronged those armies. Having fulfilled that mission, he returned to Richmond just when the Federal armies were preparing to sweep down the valley of the Mississippi and blot out its civilization. A committee of gentlemen from that valley was then at Richmond beseeching the President to appoint some man in whom the people of that vast region could have confidence, and around whom they might rally for its defence and preservation. Sidney Johnston, upon whom the President had relied as the commander of the forces of the Southwest, had not yet arrived from California. Beauregard and Joe Johnston were in command in Virginia. Magruder was in the peninsula. Jackson and the Hills and Longstreet had not yet exhibited their military skill, and were unknown in the valley of the West. The incomparable Lee was engaged in defending the frontiers of his own native state. Hardee was in the service of the State of Georgia. The emergency was great, for the Northwest was gathering all its clans to open the course of the Mississippi, the point which most nearly touched its interests. The people of Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana were clamoring for a leader, and, unless one was furnished them, might abate their enthusiasm and make but faint resistance to invasion. At this critical moment the President bethought him of this man, whom he remembered as a young soldier of the academy, whom he knew as a bishop of the Church, whose lofty qualities he had marked all through life, and whose wide and commanding influence in the valley of the Mississippi he well understood. An unusual sphere in which to seek for a general; but, with his usual promptness and sagacity, he marked his man, and asked the commissioners if Bishop Polk would meet the wishes of the people of the valley. The reply was as prompt as the nomination. "The

very man; no one whom you could name of all at your command, would be so acceptable." Then arose the important question—Can he be persuaded, in this moment of his country's peril, when all eyes are turned upon him, and all hearts are yearning for him; when his home, his diocese, his Church, the sheep entrusted to his keeping and for whom Christ had died, are threatened not only with temporal but with spiritual destruction; when hordes of infidel foreigners, spawned upon our shores from their hotbeds of infidelity and ungodliness, are coming to preach blood and license to the slaves he was laboring to humanize and christianize; can he be persuaded, was the interesting question, to resume the sword which he had laid in youth upon the altar of God, and use it in their defence? There it lay, where he had placed it in the prime of life, a virgin and unsullied sword. Not a stain had dimmed its brightness; not a drop of blood had ever marred its purity! It was consecrated to his Saviour—a votive offering which he had made in the days of his early love. Can it be resumed with honor to his Church—with safety to his soul? For vain ambition, no! For worldly distinction, no! For the preservation of property, or even life under ordinary circumstances, no! But for the defence of his Church, the spouse and bride of Christ, for the purity of the altars to which he had been bound as a sacrifice, for the care of the sheep bought with Christ's death and committed to his charge, for the maintenance of the sacred trust of slavery, yes!—a thousand times yes! That sword had been laid upon that altar for the glory of God, and for the glory of God it might be resumed, and for the glory of God it was resumed, and has flashed with a celestial brightness in the eyes of the adversary, dazzling and confounding them. And God has blessed that sword upon every occasion of its use. No matter what was the fate of the rest of the army, wherever that sword was wielded, there was victory. He never knew a defeat. He never received a wound. He moved unharmed through all the perils of the battle-field. Until his work was accomplished upon earth and God would call him to his rest, no weapon that was directed against him ever prospered.

The mode in which Bishop Polk accepted the responsibility which was laid upon him was eminently characteristic of him. When he had determined to assume the military rank with which the President thought fit to invest him, he wrote to me to inform me of the step. "I did not consult you beforehand (were his words), for I felt that it was a matter to be decided between my Master and myself. I knew how it would startle the Church; how much criticism and obloquy it might fetch down; and I determined that all the responsibility should rest upon myself. When I had fully made up my mind to the step, I went to the valley and paid a visit to our venerable Father Meade, feeling it to be my duty to let him know, as the presiding bishop of our flock, what I

had determined upon. I told him distinctly that I had not come to consult him; I had come to communicate a decision and to ask his blessing. His answer was, 'Had you consulted me, I might not have advised you to assume the office of a general; but knowing you to be a sincere, earnest, God-fearing man, believing you to have come to your decision after earnest prayer for light and for direction, I will not blame you, but will send you to the field with my blessing.'" What our brother did he always did boldly, fearlessly, openly, in the face of God and of man. The act was always his own; the responsibility he never laid upon the shoulders of another.

There was in Bishop Polk's character an earnestness of purpose and a concentration of energy which distinguished everything he did. Whatever Christian work he took in hand, he labored at it with all his heart and soul. His early missionary work, his later diocesan supervision, his interest in the advancement of the slave, his grand university scheme, his military career, were all marked by a like intense devotion and absorption. And this characteristic of the man caused him sometimes to be misunderstood. He appeared to be so wrapped up in what he had in hand, that superficial observers supposed him to be neglecting concurrent duties, and even his own spiritual discipline. But never was there a greater mistake in the judgment of a man's character. During his conception and conduct of that glorious scheme of education which will remain as his enduring monument, I was his chosen colleague and constant companion. For months together we lived under the same roof, often occupying the same chamber, and interchanging, as brothers, our thoughts and feelings. During that period of three years he seemed, to those who saw only his outer life, to be entirely absorbed in the affairs of the university—to have no thought or care for anything else. But I, who was with him in his moments of retirement as well as of business, know better, and testify that I do know. At the very time when he was putting in motion every influence which might advance his gigantic enterprise, he was conducting a parish church in the City of New Orleans with the entire love of his people; he was managing a diocese which felt no neglect because of his other occupations; he was keeping up a correspondence with literary and scientific men co-extensive with the limits of the republic. His pen knew no rest. Midnight often found him at his desk, and early morning saw him resume his work with unflagging energy. He left nothing undone to ensure the success of his undertaking, and his enthusiasm and self-devotion were contagious. They spread to every one whom he approached, until his impulses animated all about him. Cold indeed was that nature, and selfish that heart, which he could not awaken to some generous and liberal emotions. Very fascinating were his manners, and that not from any art or design, but from the high-toned frankness of his nature, and

the noble feelings which welled up from his soul as from a fountain of truth and of purity. And during all this time, while he was so absorbed in his great purpose of linking education to the chariot-wheels of the Church, he never forgot the fresh spring of his conception, the author and designer of his plan. God was ever in his thoughts; Christ, the head of the Church, was ever upon his lips; the Holy Ghost, the enlightener of the understanding of men and the controller of their wills, was unceasingly invoked. Never was any step taken in this great work which was not preceded and accompanied by constant prayer. Never was any man approached whose cooperation was important, unless prayer preceded that approach. Every morning, ere he sallied forth upon his work, was the power of Christ called down to bless and forward his plan. Never was any enterprise more bedewed with the spirit of prayer. At the same time that he was busy among men, enlisting the power of the press, securing the sympathies of the wise, opening the purses of the rich, bringing into harmonious action minds and interests of the most diversified nature—seeming only to be employing human means and human appliances—he was likewise busy in his closet invoking upon these efforts the blessing of the Most High.

And as it was in his connection with his university plans, so was it likewise during his military career. He entered upon that with the like concentration of energy and of will, because he believed it to be, for the time, his highest duty toward God and his Church. The duties of his episcopal office he laid down during his military career, in imitation of his Master, who put aside the glory which he had with the Father ere the world was, during his humiliation upon earth. For he felt his change to be an humiliation—such an humiliation as all God's children and servants are forced to pass through in their discipline upon earth. When some one, who did not understand the spirit of his act, was foolish enough to congratulate him upon the high honor which the President had conferred upon him, his indignant reply was: "Honor, sir! there is no honor upon this earth equal to the honor of being a Bishop in the Church of God." And never did he depart from this proper feeling. He felt his military character to be a burden to him, and again and again, as opportunity offered, did he pray to be released from its trammels. But the same necessity which called for his appointment required the continuance of his services, and our highest civil magistrate, the power which we believe to be ordained of God, denied his request. At Harrodsburgh, Kentucky, after the bloody field of Perryville, he said to Dr. Quintard, who accompanied him all through that campaign, with the deepest emotion, "Oh! for the days when we went up to the House of the Lord and compassed his altar with the voice of prayer and of thanksgiving!" Whenever it was possible, during his military career, he surrounded himself with all the appliances of his priestly office, and rejoiced in them to the bottom of his soul. Two days before his death—

a Sunday of storm and darkness—he said to one of his aides: “Everything is dark in nature without, but all is peace within this house. Call all my military family together, and let us have the precious service of the Church.” “And never,” said he, “did I hear him more fervent, or see him more absorbed.” He was being anointed for his burial.

Who can estimate the influence of such an act as that of our brother upon the cause which is so vital to every one of us? What could invest it with a higher moral grandeur than that a bishop of the Church of God should gird on the sword to do battle for it? A faction of the Northern Church pretended—some of them engaged in acts infinitely more derogatory to the glory of Christ’s Church—to be shocked at it; but it, nevertheless, filled them with dismay. They saw in it an intensity of feeling and of purpose at which they trembled, and when they found no echo of their pious horror from the Church of England, they ceased their idle clamor. And our brother thus became, before even he had drawn his sword, a tower of strength to the Confederacy. And who can say how much of the religious influence which has diffused itself so remarkably among the officers of the army of the West may not have reached their hearts through the silent power of his example and his prayers! Bishop Polk did not think the public exercise of his ministry a proper accompaniment of his military career, and in that I think he acted most wisely; but his dignified and irreproachable life was a perpetual sermon, and his private communion with God was his spiritual power. It is a very striking fact that every officer of high rank in that army—the army which, in the language of Gen. Johnston, he created, and had always commanded—has become a professed disciple of the meek and lowly Jesus; and that the last act of our warrior-bishop was the admission into the Church of his Saviour and Redeemer, through the holy sacrament of baptism, of two of its most renowned commanders. He lived long enough to see Christ recognized in its councils of war; and, his work on earth being done, he obeyed the summons of his Master, and passing away from earth, his mantle rests upon it.

Time does not permit me to enter into any detail of his long and useful career as a bishop in the Church of God. That must be left for the biographer, who shall, in moments of leisure and of peace, gather up the threads of his most eventful life and weave them into a narrative which shall be strange as any fiction. The vicissitudes of that life have been as wonderful as those which have distinguished the annals of so many princely families during the last eighty years. Born to large hereditary estates, and increasing that fortune by intermarriage with the noble woman whom he had loved from boyhood, and who has cheerfully shared with him all his Christian pilgrimage, he has died leaving his family without any settled dwelling-place, wanderers from the pleasant homes which knew their childhood and their youth. Trained as a man of the world and a man of pleasure, he has lived a life of

almost entire self-denial, a servant of servants, and has died a bloody death upon the battle-field. Destined, in his own intention, to mount to earthly glory by the sword and his own brave heart, he has mounted to heavenly glory by the crook of the Shepherd and the humiliation of that heart. Full of heroic purposes as he leaped into the arena of life—purposes always high and noble, even when unsanctified—he has been made, by the overruling hand of God, to display that heroism in the fields which Christ his Master illustrated, teaching the ignorant, enlightening the blind, gathering together the lost sheep of Israel, comforting the bedside of sickness and affliction, watching long days and nights by the suffering slave. Oh! how many records has he left with God of heroic self-devotion, of which the world knows nothing; records made up in silence and in darkness, when no eye saw him save the eye of the Invisible! The world speaks of him now as a hero! He has always been a hero; and the bloody fields which have made him conspicuous are but the outburst of the spirit which has always distinguished him. Battles which he fought long since with himself and his kind; which he waged against the pomps and vanities of the world and the pride of life; which he contested with the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noonday—were far more terrific than Belmont, or Shiloh, or Perryville. These required qualities which were natural to him—those qualities which came from the grace of God and the spirit of Jesus. If, as the wise man says, “Greater is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city,” then was he truly great—for he had a spirit hard to rule, and Christ gave him the mastery over it.

But his work is done, and now he rests from his labors! That brave heart is quiet in the grave—that faithful spirit has returned to its God. “The beauty of Israel is slain upon the high places. The mighty is fallen in the midst of the battle. I am distressed for thee, my brother—very pleasant hast thou been unto me.” And thou hast come to die at my very door, and to find thy burial amid my pleasant places. Welcome in death, as in life; welcome to thy grave as thou hast ever been to my home and to my heart. Thy dust shall repose under the shadow of the Church of Christ. These solemn groves shall guard thy rest; the glorious anthems of the City of God shall roll over thy grave a perpetual requiem.

And now, ye Christians of the North, and especially ye priests and bishops of the Church who have lent yourselves to the fanning of the fury of this unjust and cruel war, do I this day, in the presence of the body of this my murdered brother, summon you to meet us at the judgment-seat of Christ—that awful bar where your brute force shall avail you nothing; where the multitudes whom you have followed to do evil shall not shield you from an angry God; where the vain excuses with which you have varnished your sin shall be scattered before the bright

beams of eternal truth and righteousness. I summon you to that bar in the name of that sacred liberty which you have trampled under foot; in the name of the glorious constitution which you have destroyed; in the name of our holy religion which you have profaned; in the name of the temples of God which you have desecrated; in the name of a thousand martyred saints whose blood you have wantonly spilled; in the name of our Christian women whom you have violated; in the name of our slaves whom you have seduced and then consigned to misery; and there I leave justice and vengeance to God. The blood of your brethren crieth unto God from the earth, and it will not cry in vain. It has entered into the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth, and will be returned upon you in blood a thousand-fold. May God have mercy upon you in that day of solemn justice and fearful retribution!

And now let us commit his sacred dust to the keeping of the Church in the Confederate States until such time as his own diocese shall be prepared to do him honor. That day will come; I see it rise before me in vision, when this martyred dust shall be carried in triumphal procession to his own beloved Louisiana, and deposited in such a shrine as a loving, mourning people shall prepare for him. And he shall then receive a prophet's reward! His work shall rise up from the ashes of the past and attest his greatness! A diocese rescued from brutal dominion by the efficacy of his blood!—a Church freed from pollution by the vigor of his counsels!—a country made independent through his devotion and self-sacrifice!—an university sending forth streams of pure and sanctified learning from its exuberant bosom—generations made better and grander from his example and life, and rising up and calling him blessed!

At the close of this address, the coffin, under the escort of the Silver Greys, preceded by the bishops and clergy, was carried to the grave prepared for it in the rear of the church, immediately behind the chancel-window, the family and near friends of the departed accompanying it. While it was made ready to be laid into the grave, the senior bishop pronounced the sentences, "Man that is born of a woman," etc., and the form of committing the body to the ground, and the sentence, "I heard a voice from heaven." As he uttered the words "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," earth was cast upon the body by the Bishops of Mississippi and Arkansas, and Lieutenant-General Longstreet, of the Army of Virginia; and the last military honors were paid by a salvo from the battery of light artillery, stationed for the purpose, at the foot of Washington street.

The Bishop of Mississippi concluded the solemn services by offering the "Lord's Prayer;" the first prayer in the order for the burial of the dead; the prayer, "O God, whose days are without end;" the prayer for persons in affliction, and the apostolic benediction.

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